



B.FRANKLIN, L.L.D. F.R.S.

Born at Boston in New England, Jan 17th 1706.

NON SORDIDUS AUCTOR NATURÆ VERIQUE.



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9467

Political, Miscellaneous, AND Philosophical Pieces;

Arranged under the following HEADS, and
Distinguished by Initial Letters in each Leaf:

- [G. P.] General Politics;
- [A. B. T.] American Politics *before* the Troubles;
- [A. D. T.] American Politics *during* the Troubles;
- [P. P.] Provincial or Colony Politics; and
- [M. P.] Miscellaneous and Philosophical Pieces;

Written by

BENJ. FRANKLIN, LL.D. and F.R.S.

Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, of the Royal Society at Gottingen, and of the Batavian Society in Holland; President of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia; — late Agent in England for several of the American Colonies; and at present chosen in America as Deputy to the General Congress for the State of Pennsylvania; President of the Convention of the said State, and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Paris for the United States of America:

Now first collected,

With EXPLANATORY PLATES, NOTES,

And an INDEX to the Whole.

Hominum Rerumque Repertor. VIRGIL'S *Æneid*, xii. B.

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PREFACE

By the EDITOR.

THE writings of Dr. Franklin need no other preface than his character and life. — A few words therefore will explain all that is necessary concerning this collection.

To secure the reader from the apprehension of *omissions and interpolations*, the place whence each piece is taken, is generally expressed; or, if the notes are silent on this head, an original copy is to be understood, to which the editor still retains access. — It was chiefly for these purposes of authentication, that *notes* were originally provided: But as it was considered that this work might be read not only by Englishmen and Americans, but by foreigners and posterity; *other* notes of explanation and anecdote were occasionally added, which will be set aside by

other

iv PREFACE by the EDITOR.

other editors, in proportion as they are judged superfluous or improper.—In the *miscellaneous* part of the collection however, these humbler bounds have been considerably exceeded; the temptation for which, will appear in the places in question. The notes in particular, following the “*Conjectures* on the Aurora “*Borealis*,” were drawn up in consequence of attacks this paper had suffered among the editor’s private friends. How far his zeal will justify their insertion here, is left to a candid public. But the conjectures of great men speak a strong language. “The matter in question,” they say “contradicts nothing within *their own* “knowledge, and they risque a portion “of their reputation upon its truth:” Proofs sufficient to satisfy their candor and caution, they acknowledge to be wanting; But such hints surely deserve study and respect.—Considerable liberties have been taken with the *pointing, italics, &c.* in these papers; for most of the copies being found imperfect or unsystematic

EDUCATION
PREFACE by the EDITOR. v

systematic in these particulars, some degree of uniformity was judged allowable, if attended with proper-advertisement and apology. The editor may not perhaps at all times have succeeded in his own intentions; but he conceives that the *public* will take more exception at his interference, than Dr. Franklin.

The times appear not ripe enough for the editor to give expression to the affection, gratitude, and veneration, he bears to a writer he has so intimately studied: Nor is it wanting to the author; as history lies in wait for him, and the judgment of mankind balances already in his favor. The editor wishes only that other readers may reap that improvement from his productions, which he conceives they have rendered to himself.— Yet perhaps he may be excused for stating one opinion: He conceives that no man ever made larger or bolder guesses than Dr. Franklin from like materials in politics and philosophy, which, after the scrutiny of events and of fact, have been more completely verified.

Can

vi PREFACE by the EDITOR.

Can *Englishmen* read these things, and not sigh at recollecting that the *country* which could produce their author, was once without controversy *their own*! — Yet he who praises Dr. Franklin for mere *ability*, praises him for that quality of his mind, which stands lowest in his own esteem. Reader, whoever you are, and how much soever you think you hate him, know that this great man loves *you* enough to wish to do you good:

His country's friend, but *more* of human kind.

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P A P E R S

ON SUBJECTS OF GENERAL POLITICS.

N. B. All the Papers under this division are distinguished by the letters G. P. placed in the running title at the head of each leaf.

OBSERVATIONS concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, &c.

Written in Pennsylvania, 1751.*

1. **T**ABLES of the proportion of marriages to births, of deaths to births, of marriages to the number of inhabitants, &c. formed on observations made upon the bills of mortality, christenings, &c. of populous cities, will not suit *countries*; nor will tables formed on observations made on full-settled old countries, as *Europe*, suit new countries, as *America*.

2. For people increase in proportion to the number of marriages, and that is greater in proportion to the ease and convenience of supporting a family. When families can be easily supported, more persons marry, and earlier in life.

* [This and the following paper only, have appeared in the English Edition of Dr. Franklin's Works, E.]

3. In cities, where all trades, occupations, and offices are full, many delay marrying, till they can see how to bear the charges of a family; which charges are greater in cities, as luxury is more common: many live single during life, and continue servants to families, journeymen to traders, &c. Hence cities do not, by natural generation, supply themselves with inhabitants: the deaths are more than the births.

4. In countries full settled, the case must be nearly the same; all lands being occupied and improved to the height, those who cannot get land, must labour for others that have it; when labourers are plenty, their wages will be low; by low wages a family is supported with difficulty; this difficulty deters many from marriage, who, therefore, long continue servants and single.— Only as the cities take supplies of people from the country, and thereby make a little more room in the country, marriage is a little more encouraged there, and the births exceed the deaths.

5. Great part of *Europe* is full settled with husbandmen, manufacturers, &c. and therefore cannot now much encrease in people. *America* is chiefly occupied by *Indians*, who subsist mostly by hunting.—But as the hunter, of all men, requires the greatest quantity of land from whence to draw his subsistence, (the husbandman subsisting on much less, the gardener on still less, and the manufacturer requiring least of all) the *Europeans* found *America* as fully settled as it well could

could be by hunters; yet these having large tracts, were easily prevailed on to part with portions of territory to the new comers, who did not much interfere with the natives in hunting, and furnished them with many things they wanted.

6. Land being thus plenty in *America*, and so cheap as that a labouring man that understands husbandry, can, in a short time, save money enough to purchase a piece of new land, sufficient for a plantation, whereon he may subsist a family; such are not afraid to marry; for if they even look far enough forward to consider how their children, when grown up, are to be provided for, they see that more land is to be had at rates equally easy; all circumstances considered.

7. Hence marriages in *America* are more general, and more generally early than in *Europe*. And if it is reckoned there that *there* is but one marriage *per Annum* among 100 persons, perhaps we may here reckon two; and if in *Europe* they have but four births to a marriage, (many of their marriages being late) we may here reckon eight; of which, if one half grow up, and our marriages are made, reckoning one with another, at twenty years of age, our people must at least be doubled every twenty years.

8. But notwithstanding this increase, so vast is the territory of *North America*, that it will require many ages to settle it fully; and till it is fully settled, labour will never be cheap here, where no man continues long a labourer for others, but gets a plantation of his own; no man continues

B 2

long

long a journeyman to a trade, but goes among those new settlers, and sets up for himself, &c. Hence labour is no cheaper now, in *Pennsylvania*, than it was thirty years ago, though so many thousand labouring people have been imported from Germany and Ireland.

9. The danger, therefore, of these colonies interfering with their mother country in trades that depend on labour, manufactures, &c. is too remote to require the attention of *Great Britain*.

10. But in proportion to the increase of the colonies, a vast demand is growing for British manufactures; a glorious market, wholly in the power of Britain, in which foreigners cannot interfere, which will increase, in a short time, even beyond her power of supplying, though her whole trade should be to her colonies * * *.

12. It is an ill-grounded opinion, that by the labour of slaves, America may possibly vie in cheapness of manufactures with Britain. The labour of slaves can never be so cheap here, as the labour of working men is in Britain. Any one may compute it. Interest of money is in the colonies from 6 to 10 *per cent*. Slaves, one with another, cost 30*l*. sterling *per head*. Reckon then the interest of the first purchase of a slave, the insurance or risk on his life, his cloathing and diet, expences in his sickness, and loss of time, loss by his neglect of business, (neglect is natural to the man who is not to be benefited by his own care or diligence) expence of a driver to keep him at work, and his pilfering from time

to time, almost every slave being, from the nature of slavery, a thief; and compare the whole amount with the wages of a manufacturer of iron or wool in England, you will see that labour is much cheaper there, than it ever can be by negroes here.—Why then will *Americans* purchase slaves? Because slaves may be kept as long as a man pleases, or has occasion for their labour; while hired men are continually leaving their master (often in the midst of his business) and setting up for themselves. § 8.

13. As the increase of people depends on the encouragement of marriages, the following things must diminish a nation, *viz.* 1. *The being conquered.* For the conquerors will engross as many offices, and exact as much tribute or profit on the labour of the conquered, as will maintain them in their new establishment; and this diminishing the subsistence of the natives, discourages their marriages, and so gradually diminishes them, while the foreigners increase. 2. *Loss of territory.* Thus the *Britons* being driven into Wales, and crowded together in a barren country, insufficient to support such great numbers, diminished, till the people bore a proportion to the produce; while the Saxons increased on their abandoned lands, till the island became full of English. And, were the *English* now driven into Wales by some foreign nation, there would, in a few years, be no more Englishmen in Britain, than there are now people in Wales. 3. *Loss of trade.* Manufactures exported, draw subsistence from foreign countries for

for numbers; who are thereby enabled to marry and raise families. If the nation be deprived of any branch of trade, and no new employment is found for her people occupied in that branch, it will soon be deprived of so many people. 4. *Loss of food.* Suppose a nation has a fishery, which not only employs great numbers, but makes the food and subsistence of the people cheaper: if another nation becomes master of the seas, and prevents the fishery, the people will diminish in proportion as the loss of employ, and dearth of provision, make it more difficult to subsist a family. 5. *Bad government and insecure property.* People not only leave such a country, and, settling abroad, incorporate with other nations, lose their native language, and become foreigners; but the industry of those that remain being discouraged, the quantity of subsistence in the country is lessened, and the support of a family becomes more difficult. So *heavy taxes* tend to diminish a people. 6. *The introduction of slaves.* The negroes brought into the English sugar-islands, have greatly diminished the Whites there; the poor are by this means deprived of employment, while a few families acquire vast estates, which they spend on foreign luxuries; and educating their children in the habit of those luxuries, the same income is needed for the support of one, that might have maintained one hundred. The whites who have slaves, not labouring, are enfeebled, and therefore not so generally prolific; the slaves being worked too hard, and ill fed, their constitutions are

are broken, and the deaths among them are more than the births, so that a continual supply is needed from Africa.

The northern colonies having few slaves, increase in whites. Slaves also deplete the families that use them; the white children become proud, disgusted with labour, and being educated in idleness, are rendered unfit to get a living by industry.

14. Hence the prince that acquires new territory, if he finds it vacant, or removes the natives to give his own people room;—the legislator that makes effectual laws for promoting of trade, increasing employment, improving land by more or better tillage, providing more food by fisheries, securing property, &c.—and the man that invents new trades, arts, or manufactures, or new improvements in husbandry, may be properly called *the Fathers of their nation*, as they are the cause of the generation of multitudes, by the encouragement they afford to marriage.

15. As to privileges granted to the married, (such as the *jus trium liberorum* among the Romans) they may hasten the filling of a country that has been thinned by war or pestilence, or that has otherwise vacant territory; but cannot increase a people beyond the means provided for their subsistence.

16. Foreign luxuries and needless manufactures, imported and used in a nation, do, by the same reasoning, increase the people of the nation that furnishes them, and diminish the people of the nation that uses them.—Laws, therefore, that prevent

prevent such importations, and, on the contrary, promote the exportation of manufactures to be consumed in foreign countries, may be called (with respect to the people that make them) *generative laws*, as by increasing subsistence they encourage marriage. Such laws likewise strengthen a country doubly, by increasing its own people, and diminishing its neighbours.

17. Some *European* nations prudently refuse to consume the manufactures of *East India*. They should likewise forbid them to their colonies; for the gain to the merchant is not to be compared with the loss, by this means, of people to the nation.

18. *Home luxury* in the great, increases the nation's manufacturers employed by it, who are many, and only tends to diminish the families that indulge in it, who are few. The greater the common fashionable expence of any rank of people, the more cautious they are of marriage. Therefore luxury should never be suffered to become *common*.

19. The great increase of offspring in particular families, is not always owing to greater fecundity of nature, but sometimes to examples of industry in the heads, and industrious education; by which the children are enabled to provide better for themselves, and their marrying early is encouraged from the prospect of good subsistence.

20. If there be a sect, therefore, in our nation, that regard frugality and industry as religious

gious duties, and educate their children therein, more than others commonly do; such sect must consequently increase more by natural generation, than any other sect in Britain.

21. The importation of foreigners into a country that has as many inhabitants as the present employments and provisions for subsistence will bear, will be in the end no increase of people; unless the new-comers have more industry and frugality than the natives, and then they will provide more subsistence, and increase in the country; but they will gradually eat the natives out.—Nor is it necessary to bring in foreigners to fill up any occasional vacancy in a country; for such vacancy (if the laws are good, §. 14, 16) will soon be filled by natural generation. Who can now find the vacancy made in *Sweden*, *France*, or other warlike nations, by the plague of heroism 40 years ago; in *France*, by the expulsion of the Protestants; in *England*, by the settlement of her colonies; or in *Guinea*, by a hundred years exportation of slaves, that has blackened half America?—The thinness of the inhabitants in *Spain*, is owing to national pride, and idleness, and other causes, rather than to the expulsion of the *Moors*, or to the making of new settlements.

22. There is, in short, no bound to the prolific nature of plants or animals, but what is made by their crowding and interfering with each other's means of subsistence. Was the face of the earth vacant of other plants, it might be gradually

dually sowed and overspread with one kind only; as for instance, with fennel; and were it empty of other inhabitants, it might, in a few ages, be replenished from one nation only, as for instance, with *Englishmen*. Thus there are supposed to be now upwards of one million of *English* souls in *North America* (though it is thought scarce 80,000 have been brought over-sea*) and yet perhaps there is not one the fewer in Britain, but rather many more, on account of the employment the colonies afford to manufacturers at home. This million doubling, suppose but once in 25 years, will, in another century, be more than the people of England, and the greatest number of *Englishmen* will be on this side the water. What an accession of power to the *British* empire by sea as well as land! What increase of trade and navigation! What numbers of ships and seamen! We have been here but little more than a hundred years, and yet the force of our privateers in the late war, united, was greater both in men and guns, than that of the whole British navy in queen Elizabeth's time. How important an affair then to *Britain*, is the present treaty † for settling the bounds between her colonies and the *French*! and how careful should she be to secure room enough, since on the room depends so much the increase of her people?

23. In fine, a nation well regulated is like a polypus ‡; take away a limb, its place is soon

* [N. B. This was written in the year 1751. E.]

† An water-insect, well known to Naturalists.

‡ In 1751.

sup-

[G. P.] PEOPLING OF COUNTRIES. II

supplied; cut it in two, and each deficient part shall speedily grow out of the part remaining. Thus, (if you have room and subsistence enough) as you may, by dividing, make ten polypuses out of one; you may, of one, make ten nations, equally populous and powerful; or rather, increase a nation tenfold in numbers and strength.

*Extracts of a Letter from R. J. Esq; of London,
to Benjamin Franklin, Esq; at Philadelphia;
containing Remarks on some of the foregoing
Observations.*

DEAR SIR,

IT is now near three years since I received your excellent Observations on the *Increase of Mankind*, &c. in which you have with so much sagacity and accuracy shewn in what manner, and by what causes, that principal means of political grandeur is best promoted; and have so well supported those just inferences you have occasionally drawn, concerning the general state of our *American* colonies, and the views and conduct of some of the inhabitants of *Great Britain*.

You have abundantly proved that natural fecundity is hardly to be considered; because the *vis generandi*, as far as we know, is unlimited, and because experience shews that the numbers of nations are altogether governed by collateral causes; and among these none is of so much force as quantity of subsistence; whether arising from climate, soil, improvement of tillage, trade, fisheries, secure property, conquest of new countries, or other favourable circumstances.

As I perfectly concurred with you in your sentiments on these heads, I have been very desirous of building somewhat on the foundation you have there laid; and was induced by your hints

hints in the twenty-first section, to trouble you with some thoughts on the influence *Manners* have always had, and are always likely to have on the numbers of a people, and their political prosperity in general*.

The powerful efficacy of *Manners* in creating a people, is manifest from the instance you mention, the *Quakers*; among them industry and frugality multiplies and extends the use of the necessaries of life. To manners of a like kind are owing the populousness of *Holland*, *Switzerland*, *China*, *Japan*, and most parts of *Indostan*, &c. in every one of which the force of extent of territory and fertility of soil is multiplied, or their want compensated by industry and frugality.

Neither nature nor art have contributed much to the production of subsistence in *Switzerland*, yet we see frugality preserves, and even increases families that live on their fortunes, and which, in England, we call the *Gentry*; and the observation we cannot but make in the *Southern part of this kingdom*, that those families, including all superior ones, are gradually becoming extinct, affords the clearest proof that luxury (that is, a greater expence of subsistence than in prudence a man ought to consume) is as destructive as a proportionable want of it; but in *Scotland*, as in *Switzerland*, the *Gentry*, though one with another

* [The following passage stands inserted at this place in the original: "The end of every individual is its own private good. "The rules it observes in the pursuit of this good, are a system of propositions."

14. REMARKS ON THE THOUGHTS

ther they have not one-fourth of the income, increase in number.

" propositions, almost every one founded in authority, that is, derive their weight from the credit given to one or more persons, and not from demonstration.

" And this, in the most important as well as the other affairs of life, is the case even of the wisest and philosophical part of the human species; and that it should be so is the less strange, when we consider that it is, perhaps, impossible to prove, that *being*, or life itself, has any other value than what is set on it by authority.

" A confirmation of this may be derived from the observation, that in every country in the universe, happiness is sought upon a different plan; and, even in the same country, we see it placed by different ages, professions, and ranks of men, in the attainment of enjoyments utterly unlike.

" These propositions, as well as others, framed upon them, become habitual by degrees, and, as they govern the determination of the will, I call them *moral habits*.

" There are another set of habits that have the direction of the members of the body, that I call therefore *mechanical habits*.

" These compose what we commonly call *The Arts*, which are more or less liberal or mechanical, as they more or less partake of assistance from the operations of the mind.

" The *complexes* of the moral habits of each individual, is the manners of that individual; the *complexes* of the manners of individuals makes up the manners of a nation.

" The happiness of individuals is evidently the ultimate end of political society; and political welfare, or the strength, splendour, and opulence of the state, have been always admitted, both by political writers, and the valuable part of mankind in general, to conduce to this end, and are therefore desirable.

" The causes that advance or obstruct any one of these three objects, are external or internal. The latter may be divided into physical, civil, and personal, under which last head I comprehend the moral and mechanical habits of mankind. The physical causes are principally climate, soil, and number of subjects; the civil are government and laws; and political welfare is always in a ratio composed of the force of these particular causes; a multitude of external causes, and all these internal ones, not only controul and qualify, but are constantly acting on, and thereby insensibly, as well as sensibly, altering one another, both for the better and the worse, and this not excepting the climate itself."

And

And here I cannot help remarking, by the bye, how well founded your distinction is between the increase of mankind in old and new-settled countries in general, and more particularly, in the case of families of condition. In *America*, where their Expences are more confined to necessaries, and those necessaries are cheap, it is common to see above one hundred persons descended from one living old man. In *England* it frequently happens, where a man has seven, eight, or more children, there has not been a descendant in the next generation; occasioned by the difficulties the number of children has brought on the family, in a luxurious dear country, and which have prevented their marrying.—That this is more owing to luxury than mere want, appears from what I have said of *Scotland*, and more plainly from parts of *England* remote from *London*; in most of which the necessities of life are nearly as dear, in some dearer than in *London*; yet the people of all ranks marry and breed up children.

Again; among the lower ranks of life, none produce so few children as *servants*. This is, in some measure, to be attributed to their situation, which hinders marriage; but is also to be attributed to their luxury, and corruption of manners, which are greater than among any other set of people in *England*, and is the consequence of a nearer view of the lives and persons of a superior rank, than any inferior rank, without a proper education, ought to have.

The

The quantity of subsistence in *England* has unquestionably become greater for many ages; and yet if the inhabitants are more numerous, they certainly are not so in proportion to our improvement of the means of support. I am apt to think there are few parts of this kingdom that have not been at some former time more populous than at present. I have several cogent reasons for thinking so of great part of the counties I am most intimately acquainted with; but as they were probably not all most populous at the same time, and as some of our towns are visibly and vastly grown in bulk, I dare not suppose, as judicious men have done, that *England* is less peopled than heretofore.—This growth of our towns is the effect of a change of manners, and improvement of arts, common to all Europe; and though it is not imagined that it has lessened the country growth of necessaries; it has evidently, by introducing a greater consumption of them, (an infallible consequence of a nation's dwelling in towns) counteracted the effects of our prodigious advances in the arts.—But however frugality may supply the place, or prodigality counteract the effects, of the natural or acquired subsistence of a country: *industry* is, beyond doubt, a more efficacious cause of plenty, than any natural advantage of extent or fertility. I have mentioned instances of frugality and industry, united with extent and fertility; in *Spain* and *Asia Minor*, we see frugality joined to extent and fertility, without industry; in *Ireland* we once saw the same;

same; *Scotland* had then none of them but frugality. The change in these two countries is obvious to every one, and it is owing to industry, not yet very widely diffused in either.—The effects of industry and frugality in *England* are surprising; both the rent and the value of the inheritance of land depend on them greatly more than on nature; and this, though there is no considerable difference in the prices of our markets. Land of equal goodness lets for double the rent of other land lying in the same county; and there are many years purchase difference between different counties, where rents are equally well paid and secure.—Thus *Manners* operate upon the number of inhabitants: but of their silent effects upon a *civil constitution*, history and even our own experience, yields us abundance of proofs, though they are not uncommonly attributed to external causes: Their support of a government against external force is so great, that it is a common maxim among the advocates of liberty, that no free government was ever dissolved, or overcome, before the manners of its subjects were corrupted.

The superiority of *Greece* over *Persia* was singly owing to their difference of manners; and *that*, though all natural advantages were on the side of the latter—to which I might add the civil ones; for though the greatest of all civil advantages, Liberty, was on the side of *Greece*, yet that added no political strength to her [otherwise] than as it operated on her manners; and, when *they* were

D

corrupted,

corrupted, the restoration of their liberty by the Romans, overturned the remains of their power.

Whether the manners of *Ancient Rome* were, at any period, calculated to promote the happiness of individuals, it is not my design to examine: But that their manners, and the effects of those manners on their government and public conduct, founded, enlarged, and supported, and afterwards overthrew their empire, is beyond all doubt. One of the effects of their conquest furnishes us with a strong proof how prevalent manners are even beyond quantity of subsistence; for, when the custom of bestowing on the citizens of Rome corn enough to support themselves and families, was become established, and Egypt and Sicily produced the grain that fed the inhabitants of Italy; this became less populous every day; and the *Jus trium liberorum* was but an expedient that could not balance the want of industry and frugality.—But corruption of manners did not only *thin* the inhabitants of the *Roman Empire*; it rendered the remainder *incapable of defence*, long before its fall, perhaps before the dissolution of the republic; so that without standing disciplined armies composed of men, whose moral habits principally, and mechanical habits secondarily, made them different from the body of the people, the Roman empire had been a prey to the barbarians many ages before it was.—By the *mechanical* habits of the soldiery, I mean their discipline, and the art of war: And that this is but a secondary quality, appears from the inequality that has in all
ages.

ages been between raw, though well-disciplined armies, and veterans, and more from the irresistible force a single *moral* habit, Religion, has conferred on troops frequently neither disciplined nor experienced.

The military manners of the *Noblesse* in *France*, compose the chief force of that kingdom; and the enterprising manners, and restless dispositions of the inhabitants of *Canada* have enabled a handful of men to harass our populous, and, generally, less martial colonies: Yet neither are of the value they seem at first sight, because, overbalanced by the defect they occasion of other habits that would produce more eligible political good: And military manners in a people are not necessary in an age and country where such manners may be occasionally formed and preserved among men *enough* to defend the state; and such a country is *Great Britain*, where, though the lower class of people are by no means of a military cast, yet they make better soldiers than even the *Noblesse* of France.

The inhabitants of this country [*England*,] a few ages back, were to the populous and rich provinces of France, what *Canada* is now to the British colonies. It is true, there was less disproportion between their natural strength; but I mean that the riches of France were a real weakness, opposed to the military manners founded upon poverty and a rugged disposition, then the character of the *English*.—But it must be remembered, that at this time the manners of a people were

not

not distinct from that of their soldiery : For the use of standing armies has deprived a military people of the advantages they before had over others ; and though it has been often said, that civil wars give power, because they render all men soldiers, I believe this has only been found true in internal wars following civil wars, and not in external ones ; for now, in foreign wars, a small army with ample means to support it, is of greater force than one more numerous, with less. This last fact has often happened between France and Germany.

The means of supporting armies, and, consequently, the power of exerting external strength, are best found in the industry and frugality of the body of a people living under a government and laws that encourage *Commerce* ; for commerce is at this day almost the only *stimulus* that forces every one to contribute a share of labour for the public benefit.

But such is the human frame, and the world is so constituted, that it is a hard matter to possess ones-self of a benefit, without laying ones-self open to a loss on some other side ; the improvements of manners of one sort, often deprave those of another : Thus we see industry and frugality under the influence of commerce, (which I call a commercial spirit) tend to destroy, as well as support, the government it flourishes under.—Commerce perfects the arts, but more the mechanical than the liberal, and this for an obvious reason ; it softens and enervates the manners.

pers. Steady virtue, and unbending integrity, are seldom to be found where a spirit of commerce prevades every thing: yet the perfection of commerce is, that every thing should have its price. We every day see its progress, both to our benefit and detriment here. Things that *but* *were* forbid to be set to sale, are become its objects, and there are few things indeed *extra commercium*. The legislative power itself has been in *commercio*; and church livings are seldom given without consideration, even by sincere Christians; and for consideration, not seldom to very unworthy persons. The rudeness of ancient military times, and the fury of more modern enthusiastic ones, are worn off; even the spirit of forensic contention is astonishingly diminished (all marks of manners softening;) but luxury and corruption have taken their places, and seem the inseparable companions of Commerce and the Arts.

I cannot help observing, however, that this is much more the case in extensive countries, especially at their metropolis, than in other places. It is an old observation of politicians, and frequently made by historians, that small states always best preserve their manners.—Whether this happens from the greater room there is for attention in the legislature, or from the less room there is for ambition and avarice; it is a strong argument, among others, against an incorporating *Union of the colonies in America*, or even a federal one, that may tend to the future reducing

ducing them under one government. Their power, while disunited, is less, but their liberty, as well as manners, is more secure; and, considering the little danger of any conquest to be made upon them, I had rather they should suffer something through disunion, than see them under a general administration less equitable than that concerted at Albany*.—I take it, the inhabitants of *Pennsylvania* are both frugal and industrious beyond those of any province in *America*. If luxury should spread, it cannot be extirpated by laws. We are told by Plutarch, that *Plato* used to say, *It was a hard thing to make laws for the Cyrenians, a people abounding in plenty and opulence.*—

But from what I set out with, it is evident, if I be not mistaken, that education only can stem the torrent, and, without checking either true industry or frugality, prevent the sordid frugality and laziness of the old *Iribs*, and many of the modern *Scotch*. (I mean the inhabitants of that country, those who leave it for another being generally industrious) or the industry mixed with luxury of this capital, from getting ground; and, by rendering ancient manners familiar, produce a reconciliation between disinterestedness and commerce; a thing we often see, but almost always in men of a liberal education.

To conclude; *when we would form a people,* soil and climate may be found at least sufficiently

* [The reader will see an account of this plan in the subsequent sheets. E.]

good;

good; inhabitants may be encouraged to settle, and even supported for a while; a good government and laws may be framed, and even arts may be established, or their produce imported; but many necessary moral habits are hardly ever found among those who voluntarily offer themselves in times of quiet at home, to people new colonies; besides that the moral, as well as mechanical habits, adapted to a mother-country, are frequently not so to the new-settled one, and to external events, many of which are always unforeseen. Hence it is we have seen such fruitless attempts to settle colonies, at an immense public and private expence, by several of the powers of *Europe*: And it is particularly observable that none of the *English* colonies became any way considerable, till the necessary manners were born and grew up in the country, excepting those to which singular circumstances at home forced manners fit for the forming a new state.

I am, Sir, &c.

R. J.

THE

THE WAY TO WEALTH,

As clearly shown in the Preface of an old Pen-

*sylvania Almanack, intitled, POOR RICHARD
IMPROVED.**

Courteous Reader,

I HAVE heard, that nothing gives an author so great pleasure, as to find his works respectfully quoted by others. Judge, then, how much I must have been gratified by an incident I am going to relate to you. I stopped my horse lately, where a great number of people were collected, at an auction of merchants goods. The hour of the sale not being come, they were conversing on the badness of the times; and one of the company called to a plain, clean Old Man, with white locks, ‘Pray, *Father Abraham*, what think you of the times? Will not these heavy taxes quite ruin the country? How shall we ever be

[* Dr. Franklin, as I have been made to understand, for many years published the *Pensylvania Almanack*, called *Poor Richard* [*Saunders*], and furnished it with various sentences and proverbs, which had principal relation to the topics of “industry, attention to one’s own business, and frugality.” The whole or chief of these sentences and proverbs, he at last collected and digested in the above general preface, which his countrymen read with much avidity and profit.

M. Dubourg, the French translator of Dr. Franklin’s works, entitles this *Pensylvanian Almanack*, *Le pauvre Henri a son aise*; to avoid the *jeu de mots*, in case he had written *Pauvre Richard*. E.]

able to pay them? What would you advise us to?"—Father *Abraham* stood up, and replied, "If you would have my advice, I will give it you in short; "for a word to the wife is enough," as Poor *Richard* says." They joined in desiring him to speak his mind, and gathering round him, he proceeded as follows:

"FRIENDS, says he, the taxes are, indeed, very heavy, and, if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us, by allowing an abatement. However, let us hearken to good advice, and something may be done for us; "God helps them that help themselves," as Poor *Richard* says.

"I. It would be thought a hard government that should tax its people one tenth part of their time, to be employed in its service: But idleness taxes many of us much more; sloth, by bringing on diseases, absolutely shortens life. Sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labour wears, while the used key is always bright," as Poor *Richard* says. "But dost thou love life, then do not squander time, for that is the
E "stuff

“ stuff life is made of,” as Poor Richard says.
“ How much more than is necessary do we spend
“ in sleep ! forgetting that, “ The sleeping fox
“ catches no poultry, and that there will be
“ sleeping enough in the grave,” as Poor Richard
“ says.

“ If time be of all things the most precious,
“ wasting time must be,” as Poor Richard
“ says, “ the greatest prodigality ;” since, as he
“ elsewhere tells us, “ Lost time is never found
“ again ; and what we call time enough, always
“ proves little enough :” Let us then up and
“ be doing, and doing to the purpose ; so by di-
“ ligence shall we do more with less perplexity.
“ Sloth makes all things difficult, but industry
“ all easy ; and, He that riseth late, must trot
“ all day, and shall scarce overtake his bu-
“ siness at night ; while laziness travels so slowly,
“ that poverty soon overtakes him. Drive thy
“ business, let not that drive thee ; and early to
“ bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy,
“ wealthy, and wise,” as Poor Richard says.

“ So what signifies wishing and hoping for
“ better times ? We may make these times bet-
“ ter, if we bestir ourselves. “ Industry need
“ not wish, and he that lives upon hope will
“ die fasting. There are no gains without pains ;
“ then help hands, for I have no lands,” or, if
“ I have, they are smartly taxed. “ He that
“ hath a trade, hath an estate ; and he that hath
“ a calling, hath an office of profit and honour,”
“ as Poor Richard says ; but then the trade must
“ be

‘ be worked at, and the calling well followed, or
 ‘ neither the estate nor the office will enable us
 ‘ to pay our taxes. — If we are industrious, we
 ‘ shall never starve; for, “ at the working man’s
 ‘ house hunger looks in, but dares not enter.”
 ‘ Nor will the bailiff or the constable enter, for
 ‘ Industry pays debts, while despair increaseth
 ‘ them.” What though you have found no trea-
 ‘ sure, nor has any rich relation left you a legacy.
 ‘ Diligence is the mother of good luck, and God
 ‘ gives all things to industry. Then plow deep,
 ‘ while sluggards sleep, and you shall have corn
 ‘ to sell and to keep. Work while it is called
 ‘ to-day, for you know not how much you may
 ‘ be hindered to-morrow. “ One to-day is worth
 ‘ two to-morrows,” as Poor *Richard* says; and
 ‘ farther, “ Never leave that till to-morrow,
 ‘ which you can do to-day.” If you were a ser-
 ‘ vant, would you not be ashamed that a good
 ‘ master should catch you idle? Are you then
 ‘ your own master? be ashamed to catch yourself
 ‘ idle, when there is so much to be done for
 ‘ yourself, your family, your country, and your
 ‘ king. Handle your tools without mittens, re-
 ‘ member, that, “ The cat in gloves catches no
 ‘ mice,” as Poor *Richard* says. It is true, there is
 ‘ much to be done, and, perhaps, you are weak-
 ‘ handed; but stick to it steadily, and you will see
 ‘ great effects; for “ Constant dropping wears
 ‘ away stones; and by diligence and patience the
 ‘ mouse ate in two the cable; and little strokes
 ‘ fell great oaks.”

' Methinks I hear some of you say, "Must a
 " man afford himself no leisure?" — I will tell
 ' thee, my friend, what Poor *Richard* says; "Em-
 " ploy thy time well, if thou meanest to gain lei-
 " sure; and since thou art not sure of a minute,
 " throw not away an hour." Leisure is time for
 ' doing something useful; this leisure the diligent
 ' man will obtain, but the lazy man never; for,
 " A life of leisure and a life of laziness are two
 ' things. Many, without labour, would live by
 " their wits only, but they break for want of
 " stock;" whereas industry gives comfort, and
 ' plenty, and respect. "Fly pleasures, and they
 " will follow you. The diligent spinner has a
 " large shift; and now I have a sheep and a cow,
 " every body bids me good-morrow."

' II. But with our industry we must likewise
 ' be steady, settled, and careful, and oversee our
 ' own affairs with our own eyes, and not trust too
 ' much to others; for, as Poor *Richard* says,

" I never saw an oft-removed tree,

" Nor yet an oft-removed family,

" That throve so well as those that settled be."

' And again, "Three removes is as bad as a fire;"

' and again, "Keep thy shop, and thy shop will

' keep thee;" and again, "If you would have your

' business done, go; if not, send." And again,

" He that by the plough would thrive,

" Himself must either hold or drive."

' And again, "The eye of a master will do more

' work than both his hands;" and again, "Want

" of

"of care does us more damage than want of knowledge;" and again, "Not to oversee workmen, is to leave them your purse open." Trusting too much to others care is the ruin of many; for, "In the affairs of this world, men are saved, not by faith, but by the want of it;" But a man's own care is profitable; for, "If you would have a faithful servant, and one that you like, serve yourself. A little neglect may breed great mischief; for want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost; and for want of a horse the rider was lost," being overtaken and slain by the enemy; all for want of a little care about a horse-shoe nail.

III. So much for industry, my friends, and attention to ones own business; but to these we must add frugality, if we would make our industry more certainly successful. A man may, if he knows not how to save as he gets, "keep his nose all his life to the grind-stone, and die not worth a groat at last. A fat kitchen makes a lean will;" and

"Many estates are spent in the getting."

"Since women for tea forsook spinning and

"knitting,

"And men for punch forsook hewing and

"splitting."

"If you would be wealthy, think of saving, as

"well as of getting. The Indies have not made

"Spain rich, because her outgoes are greater

"than her incomes."

"Away

‘ Away then, with your expensive follies, and you will not then have so much cause to complain
‘ of hard times, heavy taxes, and chargeable families; for

“ Women and wine, game and deceit,

“ Make the wealth small, and the want great.”

“ And farther, “ What maintains one vice, would bring up two children.” You may think, per-

haps, that a little tea, or a little punch now and

then, diet a little more costly, clothes a little

finer, and a little entertainment now and then,

can be no great matter; but remember, “ Many

“ a little makes a mickle.” Beware of little ex-

pences; “ A small leak will sink a great ship,”

as Poor *Richard* says; and again, “ Who dain-

ties love, shall beggars prove;” and moreover,

“ Fools make feasts, and wise men eat them.”

“ Here you are all got together to this sale of

“ fineries and nick-nacks. You call them *goods*;

“ but, if you do not take care, they will prove

“ *evil* to some of you. You expect they will be

“ sold cheap; and, perhaps, they may for less than

“ they cost; but, if you have no occasion for

“ them, they must be dear to you. Remember

“ what Poor *Richard* says, “ Buy what thou hast

“ no need of, and ere long thou shalt sell thy ne-

“ cessaries.” And again, “ At a great penny-

“ worth pause a while.” He means, that per-

“ haps the cheapness is apparent only, and not

“ real; or the bargain, by straitening thee in thy

“ business, may do thee more harm than good.

“ For in another place he says, “ Many have been

“ ruined

“ruined by buying good pennyworths.” Again,
“It is foolish to lay out money in a purchase of
“repentance;” and yet this folly is practised
every day at auctions, for want of minding the
Almanack. Many a one, for the sake of finery
on the back, have gone with a hungry belly, and
half starved their families; “Silks and fattins,
“scarlet and velvets, put out the kitchen-fire,”
as Poor *Richard* says. These are not the necessities of life; they can scarcely be called the
conveniences; and yet only because they look
pretty, how many want to have them? By
these, and other extravagancies, the genteel are
reduced to poverty, and forced to borrow of
those whom they formerly despised, but who,
through industry and frugality, have maintained
their standing; in which case it appears plainly,
that “A ploughman on his knees,” as Poor *Richard*
“a gentleman on his knees,” as Poor *Richard*
says. Perhaps they have had a small estate left
them, which they knew not the getting of;
they think “It is day, and will never be night;”
that a little to be spent out of so much is not
worth minding; but “Always taking out of
the meal-tub, and never putting in, soon comes
to the bottom,” as Poor *Richard* says; and
then, “When the well is dry, they know the
worth of water.” But this they might have
known before, if they had taken his advice:
—“If you would know the value of money, go
and try to borrow some; for he that goes a
“borrowing goes a sorrowing,” as Poor *Richard*
says;

‘ says; and, indeed, so does he that lends to
‘ such people, when he goes to get it in again.—
‘ Poor *Dick* farther advises, and says,

“ Fond pride of dress is sure a very curse ;

“ Ere fancy you consult, consult your purse.”

‘ And again, “ Pride is as loud a beggar as Want,
‘ and a great deal more faucy.” When you have

‘ bought one fine thing, you must buy ten more,
‘ that your appearance may be all of a piece ; but

‘ Poor *Dick* says, “ It is easier to suppress the first
‘ desire, than to satisfy all that follow it :” And

‘ it is as truly folly for the poor to ape the rich, as
‘ for the frog to swell, in order to equal the ox.

“ Vessels large may venture more,

“ But little boats should keep near shore.”

‘ It is, however, a folly soon punished ; for, as

‘ Poor *Richard* says, “ Pride that dines on va-

‘ nity, sups on contempt ; Pride breakfasted with

‘ Plenty, dined with Poverty, and supped with

‘ Infamy.” And, after all, of what use is this

‘ pride of appearance, for which so much is

‘ risked, so much is suffered ? It cannot promote

‘ health, nor ease pain ; it makes no increase of

‘ merit in the person, it creates envy, it hastens

‘ misfortune.

‘ But what madness must it be to *run in debt* for

‘ these superfluities ? We are offered, by the terms

‘ of this sale, six months credit ; and that, perhaps,

‘ has induced some of us to attend it, because we

‘ cannot spare the ready money, and hope now to

‘ be safe without it. But, ah ! think what you do

‘ when

when you run in debt; you give to another
 power over your liberty. If you cannot pay
 at the time, you will be ashamed to see your
 creditor; you will be in fear when you speak to
 him; you will make poor pitiful sneaking excuses,
 and, by degrees, come to lose your veracity,
 and sink into base, downright lying; for,
 "The second vice is lying, the *first* is running
 "in debt," as Poor Richard says; and again, to
 the same purpose, "Lying rides upon Debt's
 "back;" whereas a free-born *Englishman* ought
 not to be ashamed nor afraid to see or speak
 to any man living. But poverty often deprives
 a man of all spirit and virtue. "It is hard
 "for an empty bag to stand upright." What
 would you think of that prince, or of that government,
 who should issue an edict forbidding
 you to dress like a gentleman or gentlewoman,
 on pain of imprisonment or servitude? Would
 you not say that you were free, have a right
 to dress as you please, and that such an edict
 would be a breach of your privileges, and such
 a government tyrannical? And yet you are
 about to put yourself under that tyranny, when
 you run in debt for such dress! Your creditor
 has authority, at his pleasure, to deprive you
 of your liberty, by confining you in gaol for
 life, or by selling you for a servant, if you
 should not be able to pay him. When you
 have got your bargain, you may, perhaps,
 think little of payment; but, as Poor Richard
 says, "Creditors have better memories than
 "debtors;

“ debtors; creditors are a superstitious sect, great
 “ observers of let-days and times.” The day
 “ comes round before you are aware, and the
 “ demand is made, before you are prepared to
 “ satisfy it; for, if you bear your debt, in mind,
 “ the term, which at first seemed so long, will,
 “ as it lessens, appear extremely short.” Time
 “ will seem to have added wings to his heels as
 “ well as his shoulders. These have a short
 “ Lent, who owe money to be paid at Easter.”
 “ At present, perhaps, you may think yourselves
 “ in thriving circumstances, and that you can bear
 “ a little extravagance without injury; but, at
 “ For age and want save while you may.”
 “ No morning sun lasts a whole day in rot.”
 “ Gain may be temporary and uncertain, but ever,
 “ while you live, expense is constant and certain;
 “ and, “ It is easier to build two chimneys, than
 “ to keep one in fuel,” as Poor Richard says. So,
 “ Rather go to bed supperless, than rise in debt.”
 “ Get what you can, and what you get hold.”
 “ ’Tis the stone that will turn all you read
 “ into gold.”

“ And when you have got the philosopher’s stone,
 “ sure you will no longer complain of bad times,
 “ or the difficulty of paying taxes, and

IV. This doctrine, my friends, is reason and
 wisdom: But, after all, do not depend too
 much upon your own industry, and frugality,
 and prudence, though excellent things; for they
 may all be blasted, without the blessing of Hea-
 ven;

coat, I went away, resolved to wear my old one a little longer. Reader, if thou wilt do the same, thy profit will be as great as mine.

I am, as ever,

Thine to serve thee,

RICHARD SAUNDERS†.

† [This piece has been printed on a single sheet of paper, of a small size fit for framing, and may be had of the publisher of this work, price two-pence. E.]

Plan

*Plan by Messieurs Franklin and Dalrymple for
benefiting distant unprovided Countries †.*

Aug. 29, 1771.

THE country called in the maps *New Zealand*, has been discovered by the *Endeavour*, to be two islands, together as large as *Great Britain*: these islands, named *Atty-namovele* and *Tovy-poenlanmoo*, are inhabited by a brave and generous race, who are destitute of corn, *fowls*, and *all quadrupeds*, except *dogs*.

These circumstances being mentioned lately in a company of men of liberal sentiments, it was observed that it seemed *incumbent* on such a country as *this*, to communicate to *all others* the conveniences of life which we enjoy.

Dr. Franklin, whose life has ever been directed to promote the true interest of society, said, “ he would with all his heart *subscribe* to a voyage intended to communicate in *general* those benefits which we enjoy, to countries destitute of them in the remote parts of the globe.” This

† [These proposals were printed upon a sheet of paper some two or three years ago, and distributed. The parts written by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Dalrymple are easily distinguished.

By a mistake of the printer “The way to wealth” is put out of its place, being made to interrupt the course of the papers relating to the subsistence of mankind, &c. E.]

proposition

proposition being warmly adopted by the rest of the company, Mr. Dalrymple, then present, was induced to offer to undertake the command on such an expedition.

On mature reflection this scheme appears the more honourable to the national character of any which can be conceived, as it is grounded on the noblest principle of benevolence. Good intentions are often frustrated by letting them remain undigested; on this consideration Mr. Dalrymple was induced to put the outlines on paper, which are now published, that by an early communication there may be a better opportunity of collecting all the hints which can conduce to execute effectually the benevolent purpose of the expedition, in case it should meet with general approbation.

On this scheme being shewn to Dr. Franklin, he communicated his sentiments by way of introduction, to the following effect.

" Britain is said to have produced originally nothing but *slaves*. What vast advantages have been communicated to her by the fruits, seeds, roots, herbage, animals, and arts of other countries! We are by their means become a wealthy and a mighty nation, abounding in all good things. Does not some *duty* hence arise from us towards other countries still remaining in our former state?

" Britain is now the first maritime power in the world. Her ships are innumerable, capable by their form, size, and strength, of sailing all seas. Our seamen are equally bold, skilful " and

"and hardy; dexterous in exploring the remotest
 "regions, and ready to engage in voyages to
 "unknown countries, though attended with the
 "greatest dangers. The inhabitants of those
 "countries, our *fellow men*, have canoes only,
 "not knowing iron, they cannot build ships;
 "they have little astronomy, and no knowledge
 "of the compass to guide them: they cannot
 "therefore come to us, or obtain any of our
 "advantages. From these circumstances, does
 "not some duty seem to arise from us to them?
 "Does not Providence by these distinguishing
 "favours seem to call on us to do something
 "ourselves for the common interest of huma-
 "nity?
 "Those who think it their duty to ask bread
 "and other blessings daily from heaven, would
 "they not think it equally a duty to communi-
 "cate of those blessings when they have received
 "them, and show their gratitude to their great
 "Benefactor by the only means in their power,
 "promoting the happiness of his other children?
 "Ceres is said to have made a journey through
 "many countries to teach the use of corn, and
 "the art of raising it. For this single benefit
 "the grateful nations deified her. How much
 "more may Englishmen deserve such honour, by
 "communicating the knowledge and use not of
 "corn only, but of all the other enjoyments
 "earth can produce, and which they are now
 "in possession of. *Communiter bona profunder,*
 "*Deum est.*

"Many

“ Many voyages have been undertaken with
 “ views of profit or of plunder, or to gratify
 “ resentment; to procure some advantage to
 “ ourselves, or do some mischief to others: but
 “ a voyage is now proposed to visit a distant
 “ people on the other side the globe; not to
 “ cheat them, not to rob them, not to seize their
 “ lands, or enslave their persons; but merely to do
 “ them good, and make them, as far as in our
 “ power lies, to live as comfortably as ourselves.
 “ It seems a laudable wish that all the nations
 “ of the earth were connected by a knowledge of
 “ each other, and a mutual exchange of benefits:
 “ but a commercial nation particularly should
 “ wish for a general civilization of mankind,
 “ since trade is always carried on to much greater
 “ extent with people who have the arts and con-
 “ veniences of life, than it can be with naked
 “ savages. We may therefore hope in this un-
 “ dertaking to be of some service to our country,
 “ as well as to those poor people, who, however
 “ distant from us, are in truth related to us, and
 “ whose interests do, in some degree, concern
 “ every one who can say *Homo sum, &c.*”

*Scheme of a voyage by subscription, to convey the
 conveniences of life, as fowls, hogs, goats, cattle,
 corn, iron, &c. to those remote regions which are
 destitute of them, and to bring from thence such
 productions as can be cultivated in this kingdom
 to the advantage of society, in a ship under the
 command of Alexander Dalrymple.*

Catt

Catt or Bark, from the coal trade,	£
of 350 tons, estimated at about	- - 2000
Extra expences, stores, boats, &c.	- - 3000
	<hr/>

5000

To be manned with 60 men at
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ man $\frac{1}{2}$ month

240

12

2880 $\frac{1}{2}$ annum

3

Wages and
Provisions

8640 for three years 8640

13640

Cargo included, supposed - - - - 15000

The expences of this expedition are calculated for *three* years; but the greatest part of the amount of wages will not be wanted till the ship returns, and a great part of the expence of provisions will be saved by what is obtained in the course of the voyage by barter or otherwise, tho' it is proper to make provision for contingencies.

* * * * *

G

EXTRACT

*Extract of a Letter to Dr. Percival, concerning
the Provision made in China against Famine.*

I HAVE somewhere read that in China an account is yearly taken of the number of people, and the quantities of provision produced. This account is transmitted to the Emperor, whose ministers can thence foresee a scarcity likely to happen in any province, and from what province it can best be supplied in good time. To facilitate the collecting of this account, and prevent the necessity of entering houses and spending time in asking and answering questions, each house is furnished with a little board to be hung without the door, daring a certain time each year; on which board are marked certain words, against which the inhabitant is to mark number or quantity, somewhat in this manner :

Men,
Women,
Children,
Rice or Wheat,
Flesh, &c.

All under 16 are accounted children, and all above, men and women. Any other particulars which

which the government desires information of, are occasionally marked on the same boards. Thus the officers appointed to collect the accounts in each district, have only to pass before the doors, and enter into their book what they find marked on the board, without giving the least trouble to the family. There is a penalty on marking falsely, and as neighbours must know nearly the truth of each others account, they dare not expose themselves by a false one, to each others accusation. Perhaps such a regulation is scarcely practicable with us*.

* The above passage is taken from Dr. Percival's Essays, Vol. III. p. 25, being an extract from a letter written to him, by Dr. Franklin, on the subject of his observations on the state of population in Manchester and other adjacent places. E.]

Positions to be Examined.*

1. **A**LL food or subsistence for mankind arise from the earth or waters.

2. Necessaries of life that are not foods, and all other conveniences, have their values estimated by the proportion of food consumed while we are employed in procuring them.

3. A small people with a large territory may subsist on the productions of nature, with no other labour than that of gathering the vegetables and catching the animals.

4. A large people with a small territory finds these insufficient, and to subsist, must labour the earth, to make it produce greater quantities of vegetable food, suitable for the nourishment of men, and of the animals they intend to eat.

5. From this labour arises a *great increase* of vegetable and animal food, and of materials for clothing, as flax, wool, silk, &c. The superfluity of these is wealth. With this wealth we pay for the labour employed in building our houses, cities, &c. which are therefore only subsistence thus metamorphosed.

6. *Manufactures* are only *another shape* into which so much provisions and subsistence are

* [This article has been inserted in *The Repository for select papers on Agriculture, Arts, and Manufacture*, Vol. I. page 350. E.]

turned,

turned, as were equal in value to the manufactures produced. It thus appears from hence, that the manufacturer does not, in fact, obtain from the employer, for his labour, *more* than a mere subsistence, including raiment, fuel and shelter; all which derive their value from the provisions consumed in procuring them.

7. The produce of the earth, thus converted into manufactures, may be more easily carried to distant markets than before such conversion.

8. *Fair commerce* is, where equal values are exchanged for equal, the expence of transport included. Thus, if it costs A in *England* as much labour and charge to raise a bushel of wheat, as it costs B in *France* to produce four gallons of wine, then are four gallons of wine the fair exchange for a bushel of wheat, A and B meeting at half distance with their commodities to make the exchange. The advantage of this fair commerce is, that each party increases the number of his enjoyments, having, instead of wheat alone, or wine alone, the use of both wheat and wine.

9. Where the labour and expence of producing both commodities are known to both parties, bargains will generally be fair and equal. Where they are known to one party only, bargains will often be unequal, knowledge taking its advantage of ignorance.

10. Thus he that carries 1000 bushels of wheat abroad to sell, may not probably obtain so great a profit thereon, as if he had first turned the wheat into manufactures, by subsisting there-
with

with the workmen while producing those manufactures: since there are many expediting and facilitating methods of working, not generally known; and strangers to the manufactures, though they know pretty well the expence of raising wheat, are unacquainted with those short methods of working, and thence being apt to suppose more labour employed in the manufactures than there really is, are more easily imposed on in their value, and induced to allow more for them than they are honestly worth.

11. Thus the advantage of having manufactures in a country, does not consist, as is commonly supposed, in their highly advancing the value of rough materials, of which they are formed; since, though six-pennyworth of flax may be worth twenty shillings when worked into lace, yet the very cause of its being worth twenty shillings is, that, besides the flax, it has cost nineteen shillings and sixpence in subsistence to the manufacturer. But the advantage of manufactures is, that under their shape provisions may be more easily carried to a foreign market; and by their means our traders may more easily cheat strangers. Few, where it is not made, are judges of the value of lace. The importer may demand forty, and perhaps get thirty shillings for that which cost him but twenty.

12. Finally, there seem to be but three ways for a nation to acquire wealth. The first is by war, as the *Romans* did, in plundering their conquered

quered neighbours. This is *robbery*.—The second by *commerce*, which is, generally *cheating*.—The third by *agriculture*, the only *bonest way*; wherein man receives a real increase of the seed thrown into the ground, in a kind of continual miracle wrought by the hand of God in his favour, as a reward for his innocent life, and his virtuous industry.

April 4, 1769.

B. F.

POLITICAL

POLITICAL FRAGMENTS; supposed either
to be written by Dr. Franklin, or to contain
sentiments nearly allied to his own.*

[§ 1. Of the Employment of Time, and of Indolence &c.
particularly as respecting the State.]

ALL that live must be subsisted. Subsistence costs something. He that is industrious produces, by his industry, something that is an equivalent, and pays for his subsistence: he is therefore no charge or burden to society. The indolent are an expence uncompensated.

There can be no doubt but all kinds of employment that can be followed without prejudice from interruptions; work that can be taken up, and laid down, often in a day, without damage; (such as spinning, knitting, weaving, &c.) are highly advantageous to a community; because, in them, may be collected all the produce of those fragments of time, that occur in family-business, between the constant and necessary parts of it, that

* [The political fragments which are here presented to the reader, were gathered up from the notes, annexed to a pamphlet called *The Principles of Trade*, printed for *Bretberton and Sewel, London, 1774*, second edition.—The writer of this work speaks of assistance lent to him, in the following passage in his preface. ‘Some very respectable friends have indulged me with their ideas and opinions. It is with the greatest pleasure we in this second edition most gratefully acknowledge the favour; and must add, that should the public hold this performance in any estimation, no small share belongs to those friends.’ Our author is one of the respectable friends here alluded to. E.]

usually

usually occupy females; as the time between rising and preparing for breakfast, between breakfast and preparing for dinner, &c. &c. The amount of all these fragments, is, in the course of a year, very considerable to a single family; to a state proportionably. Highly profitable therefore it is, in this case also, to follow that divine direction, *gather up the fragments that nothing be lost*. Lost time is lost subsequence; it is therefore lost treasure.

Hereby in several families, many yards of linen have been produced from the employment of those fragments only, in one year, though such families were just the same in number as when not so employed.

It was an excellent saying of a certain Chinese Emperor, *I will, if possible, have no idleness in my dominions; for if there be one man idle, some other man must suffer cold or hunger*. We take this Emperor's meaning to be, that the labour due to the public by each individual, not being performed by the indolent, must naturally fall to the share of others, who must thereby suffer.

[§ 2. *Of Embargoes upon Corn, and of the Poor.*]

In inland high countries, remote from the sea, and whose rivers are small, running from the country, and not to it, as is the case of Switzerland; great distress may arise from a course of bad harvests, if public granaries are not provided, and kept well stored. Anciently too, before navigation.

H

tion was so general, ships so plenty, and commercial connexions so well established; even maritime countries might be occasionally distressed by bad crops. But such is now the facility of communication between those countries, that an unrestrained commerce can scarce ever fail of procuring a sufficiency for any of them. If indeed any government is so imprudent, as to lay its hands on imported corn, forbid its exportation, or compel its sale at limited prices; there the people may suffer some famine from merchants avoiding their ports. But wherever commerce is known to be always free, and the merchant absolute master of his commodity, as in *Holland*, there will always be a reasonable supply.

When an exportation of corn takes place, occasioned by a higher price in some foreign countries, it is common to raise a clamour, on the supposition that we shall thereby produce a domestic famine. Then follows a prohibition, founded on the imaginary distress of the poor. The poor, to be sure, if in distress, should be relieved; but if the farmer could have a high price for his corn from the foreign demand, must he by a prohibition of exportation be compelled to take a low price, not of the poor only, but of every one that eats bread, even the richest? the duty of relieving the poor is incumbent on the rich; but by this operation the whole burden of it is laid on the farmer, who is to relieve the rich at the same time. Of the poor too, those who are maintained by the parishes have no right to claim this sacrifice of the farmer;

farmer; as, while they have their allowance, it makes no difference to them, whether bread be cheap or dear. Those working poor, who now mind business only *five* or *four* days in the week, if bread should be so dear as to oblige them to work the whole *six* required by the commandment, do not seem to be aggrieved, so as to have a right to public redress. There will then remain, comparatively, only a few families in every district, who, from sickness or a great number of children, will be so distressed by a high price of corn, as to need relief; and these should be taken care of by particular benefactions, without restraining the farmer's profit.

Those who fear, that exportation may so far drain the country of corn, as to starve ourselves, fear what never did, nor ever can happen. They may as well, when they view the tide ebbing towards the sea, fear that all the water will leave the river. The price of corn, like water, will find its own level. The more we export, the dearer it becomes at home; the more is received abroad, the cheaper it becomes there; and, as soon as these prices are equal, the exportation stops of course. As the seasons vary in different countries, the calamity of a bad harvest is never universal. If then, all ports were always open, and all commerce free; every maritime country would generally eat bread at the medium price, or average of all the harvests; which would probably be more equal than we can make it by our artificial regulations, and therefore a more steady encouragement.

ment to agriculture. The nation would all have bread at this middle price; and that nation, which at any time inhumanely refuses to relieve the distresses of another nation, deserves no compassion when in distress itself.

[§ 3. *Of the Effect of Dearthness of Provisions upon Working, and upon Manufactures.*]

The common people do not work for pleasure generally, but from necessity. Cheapness of provisions makes them more idle; less work is then done, it is then more in demand proportionally, and of course the price rises. Dearthness of provisions obliges the manufacturer to work more days and more hours; thus more work is done than equals the usual demand; of course it becomes cheaper, and the manufactures in consequence.

[§ 4. *Of an open Trade.*]

Perhaps, in general, it would be better if government meddled no farther with trade, than to protect it, and let it take its course. Most of the statutes or acts, edicts, arrests, and placards of parliaments, princes, and states, for regulating, directing, or restraining of trade; have, we think, been either political blunders, or jobs obtained by artful men for private advantage under pretence of public good. When *Colbert* assembled some wise old merchants of *France*, and desired their advice and opinion how he could best serve and promote commerce; their answer, after consultation,

salutation, was in three words only. *Enaissez nous faire*; 'Let us alone.'—It is said by a very solid writer of the same nation, that he is well advanced in the science of politics, who knows the full force of that maxim, *Pax troya gubernat*, 'not to govern too much;' which, perhaps, would be of more use when applied to trade, than in any other public concern. It were therefore to be wished, that commerce were as free between all the nations of the world, as it is between the several countries of *England*; so would all, by mutual communication, obtain more enjoyments. Those countries do not ruin each other by trade, neither would the nations. No nation was ever ruined by trade, even, seemingly, the most disadvantageous.

Wherever desirable superfluities are imported, industry is excited, and thereby plenty is produced. Were only necessities permitted to be purchased, men would work no more than was necessary for that purpose.

[§. 5. Of Prohibitions with respect to the Exportation of Gold and Silver.]

Could *Spain* and *Portugal* have succeeded in executing their foolish laws for *beiging in the cuckoo*, as *Locke* calls it, and have kept at home all their gold and silver, those metals would by this time, have been of little more value than so much lead or iron. Their plenty would have lessened their value. We see the folly of these edicts: but are not our own prohibitory and restrictive laws, that are

are professedly made with intention to bring a balance in our favour from our trade with foreign nations to be paid in money, and laws to prevent the necessity of exporting that money, which if they could be thoroughly executed, would make money as plenty, and of as little value. I say, not such laws akin to those *Spanish* edicts, follies of the same family?

[§ 6. *Of the Returns for Foreign Articles.*]

In fact, the *produce of other countries* can hardly be obtained, unless by fraud and rapine; without giving the *produce of our land or our industry* in exchange for them. If we have mines of gold and silver, gold and silver may then be called the produce of our land: if we have not, we can only fairly obtain those metals by giving for them the produce of our land or industry. When we have them, they are then only that produce or industry in another shape; which we may give, if the trade requires it and our other produce will not suit, in exchange for the produce of some other country that furnishes what we have more occasion for, or more desire. When we have, to an inconvenient degree, parted with our gold and silver, our industry is stimulated afresh to procure more; that, by its means, we may contrive to procure the same advantage.

[§ 7. *Of Restraints upon Commerce in Time of War.*]

When princes make war by prohibiting commerce, each may hurt himself as much as his enemy.

enemy. Traders, who by their business are promoting the common good of mankind, as well as farmers and fishermen who labour for the subsistence of all, should never be interrupted, or molested in their business; but enjoy the protection of all in the time of war, as well as in time of peace.

This policy, those we are pleased to call Barbarians, have, in a great measure, adopted; for the trading subjects of any power, with whom the Emperor of *Morocco* may be at war, are not liable to capture, when within sight of his land, going or coming; and have otherwise free liberty to trade and reside in his dominions.

As a maritime power, we presume it is not thought right, that *Great Britain* should grant such freedom, except partially; as in the case of war with France, when tobacco is allowed to be sent thither under the sanction of passports.

[§ 8. *Exchanges in Trade may be gainful to each Party.*]

In transactions of trade, it is not to be supposed, that like gaming, what one party *gains* the other must necessarily *lose*. The gain to each may be equal. If A has more corn than he can consume, but wants cattle; and B has more cattle, but wants corn, exchange is gain to each: hereby the common stock of comforts in life is increased.

[§ 9. *Of*

[§ 9. Of Paper Credit.]

It is impossible for government to circumscribe, or fix the extent of paper credit, which must of course fluctuate. Government may as well pretend to lay down rules for the operations, or the confidence of every individual in the course of his trade. Any seeming temporary evil arising, must naturally work its own cure*.

* The reader will see Dr. Franklin's sentiments on paper currency in the sequel of this work, B. I.

*On the Price of Corn, and Management of
the Poor.**

To Messieurs the PUBLIC.

I AM one of that class of people that feeds you all, and at present is abused by you all;—in short, I am a *farmer*.

By your news-papers we are told, that God had sent a very short harvest to some other countries of Europe. I thought this might be in favour of Old *England*; and that now we should get a good price for our grain, which would bring millions among us, and make us flow in money: that to be sure is scarce enough.

[* The following extracts of a letter signed *Columella*, and addressed to the editors of *the Repository for select papers on Agriculture, Arts, and Manufactures*, (See Vol. I. p. 352.) will again serve the purpose of preparing those who read it, for entering upon this paper.

GENTLEMEN,

THERE is now publishing in France a periodical work, called *Ephemerides du Citoyen*, in which several points interesting to those concerned in agriculture, are from time to time discussed by some able hands. In looking over one of the volumes of this work a few days ago, I found a little piece written by one of our country-men, and which our vigilant neighbours had taken from *the London Chronicle* in 1766. The author is a gentleman well known to every man of letters in Europe, and perhaps there is none, in this age, to whom mankind in general are more indebted.

That this piece may not be lost to our own country, I beg you will give it a place in your Repository: it was written in favor of the farmers, when they suffered so much in our public papers, and were also plundered by the mob in many places.

The principles on which this piece is grounded, are given more at large in the *Political Fragments*, art. 2. (see p. 49. E.)

But

But the wisdom of government forbid the exportation*.

Well, says I, then we must be content with the market-price at home.

No, say my Lords the mob, you sha'n't have that. Bring your corn to market if you dare;—we'll sell it for you, for less money, or take it for nothing.

Being thus attacked by both ends of the constitution, the head and the tail of government, what am I to do? Must I keep my corn in the barn, to feed, and increase the breed of rats?—be it so;—they cannot be less thankful, then, those I have been used to feed.

Are we farmers the only people to be grudging the profits of our honest labour?—And why? One of the late scribblers against us, gives a bill of fare of the provisions at my daughter's wedding, and precludes to all the world, that we had the insolence to eat beef and pudding!—Has he not read the precept in the good book, *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn*; or does he think us less worthy of good living than our oxen?

O, but the manufacturers! the manufacturers! they are to be favoured, and they must have bread at a cheap rate!

[It is not necessary to repeat in what degree Dr. Franklin respected the ministers, to whom he alludes.—The embargo upon corn was but a single measure: which, it is enough to say, an host of politicians thought well-advised, but ill-defended.—Of the great and honourable services of the Earl of Chatham to his country, Dr. Franklin has borne the amplest testimony. E.]

Hark ye, Mr. Oaf;—The farmers live splendidly, you say. And pray, would you have them hoard the money they get? Their fine clothes and furniture, do they make them themselves or for one another, and so keep the money among them? Or, do they employ these your darling manufacturers, and so scatter it again all over the nation?

The wool would produce me a better price, if it were suffered to go to foreign markets; but that, Messieurs the Public, your laws will not permit. It must be kept all at home, that our dear manufacturers may have it the cheaper. And then, having yourselves thus lessened our encouragement for raising sheep, you curse us for the scarcity of mutton!

I have heard my grandfather say, that the farmers submitted to the prohibition on the exportation of wool, being made to expect and believe that when the manufacturer bought his wool cheaper, they should also have their cloth cheaper. But the deuce a bit. It has been growing dearer and dearer from that day to this. How so? Why, truly, the cloth is exported; and that keeps up the price.

Now if it be a good principle, that the exportation of a commodity is to be restrained, that so our people at home may have it the cheaper; stick to that principle, and go thorough with it. Prohibit the exportation of your cloth, your leather, and shoes, your iron-ware, and your manufactures of all sorts, to

make

make them all cheaper at home. And cheap enough they will be, I will warrant you—till people leave off making them.

Some folks seem to think they ought never to be easy till England becomes another Lubberland, where it is fancied the streets are paved with penny-rolls, the houses tiled with pancakes, and chickens, ready roasted, cry, Come eat me.

I say, when you are sure you have got a good principle, stick to it, and carry it thorough.—I hear it is said, that though it was *necessary and right* for the m---y to advise a prohibition of the exportation of corn, yet it was *contrary to law*; and also, that though it was *contrary to law* for the mob to obstruct waggons, yet it was *necessary and right*.—Just the same thing to a titlle. Now they tell me, an act of indemnity ought to pass in favour of the m---y, to secure them from the consequences of having acted illegally.—If so, pass another in favour of the mob. Others say, some of the mob ought to be hanged, by way of example.—If so,—but I say no more than I have said before, *when you are sure that you have got a good principle, go through with it.*

You say, poor labourers cannot afford to buy bread at a high price, unless they had higher wages.—Possibly.—But how shall we farmers be able to afford our labourers higher wages, if you will not allow us to get, when we might have it, a higher price for our corn?

By

By all that I can learn, we should at least have had a guinea a quarter more, if the exportation had been allowed. And this money England would have got from foreigners.

But, it seems, we farmers must take so much less, that the poor may have it so much cheaper.

This operates then as a tax for the maintenance of the poor.—A very good thing, you will say. But I ask, why a partial tax? Why laid on us farmers only?—If it be a good thing, pray, Messieurs the Public, take your share of it, by indemnifying us a little out of your public treasury. In doing a good thing, there is both honour and pleasure;—you are welcome to your share of both.

For my own part, I am not so well satisfied of the goodness of this thing. I am for doing good to the poor, but I differ in opinion about the means. — I think the best way of doing good to the poor, is not making them *easy in poverty*, but leading or driving them *out* of it. In my youth I travelled much, and I observed in different countries, that the more public provisions were made for the poor, the less they provided for themselves, and of course became poorer. And, on the contrary, the less was done for them, the more they did for themselves, and became richer. There is no country in the world where so many provisions are established for them; so many hospitals to receive them when they are sick or lame, founded and maintained by voluntary charities; so many alms-houses for the aged of both sexes, together.

together with a solemn general law made by the rich to subject their estates to a heavy tax for the support of the poor. Under all these obligations, are our poor modest, humble, and thankful? and do they use their best endeavours to maintain themselves, and lighten our shoulders of this burden?—On the contrary, I affirm that there is no country in the world in which the poor are more idle, dissolute, drunken, and insolent. The day you passed that act, you took away from before their eyes the greatest of all inducements to industry, frugality, and sobriety, by giving them a dependance on somewhat else than a careful accumulation during youth and health, for support in age or sickness. In short, you offered a premium for the encouragement of idleness, and you should not now wonder that it has had its effect in the increase of poverty. Repeal that law, and you will soon see a change in their manners, *Saint Monday* and *Saint Tuesday*, will soon cease to be holidays. *Six days shalt thou labour*, though one of the old commandments long treated as out of date, will again be looked upon as a respectable precept; industry will increase, and with it plenty among the lower people; their circumstances will mend, and more will be done for their happiness by insuring them to provide for themselves, than could be done by dividing all your estates among them.

Excuse me, Messieurs the Public, if upon this *interesting* subject, I put you to the trouble of reading a little of *my* nonsense; I am sure I have lately

lately read a great deal of *yours*, and therefore from you (at least from those of you who are writers) I deserve a little indulgence.

I am yours, &c.

ARATOR.

[The late Mr. Owen Ruffhead, being some time ago employed in preparing a *Digest of our Poor Laws*, communicated a copy of it to Dr. Franklin for his advice. Dr. Franklin recommended that provision should be made therein, for the printing on a sheet of paper and dispersing, in each parish in the kingdom, annual accounts of every disbursement and receipt of its officers. It is obvious to remark how greatly this must tend to educate both the officers and the poor, and to inform and interest the parishioners with respect to parish concerns.—Some of the *American colonies* actually practise this measure with a success which might justify its adoption here.

Later improvements however in our *English poor laws*, have not only been meditated, but attempted.—In particular, in 1773, an act of parliament was passed, in order to invite the poor to set apart money for the purchase of annuities, in all parishes and townships managing the poor's-rate, that could admit of, and would formally consent to the regulation. Some of the particulars of this scheme were as follows. The annuities, which to accommodate the poor were payable quarterly, were in no case to exceed 20*l*. and no principal purchase money was to be received of less amount than 5*l*. at a time; the parties might choose any age for the purchase between 15 and 75, but they could not receive the annuity before 50 if men, and 55 if women, the annuity in the mean time increasing in proportion as they had waited; the annuities also could not knowingly be granted to any but those entitled to legal parish settlements, nor for any other lives than those of the grantors; though they were saleable, provided the first refusal of them was offered to the grantors. The proper officers of the parish or township (who were constituted the grantors,) in order to effect these purposes, were to be erected into a corporation with a seal; the grants (which were framed according to a prescribed and cheap form, and protected from frauds) were to be in several ways authenticated and preserved; the annuities were to be taken up in some parliamentary fund; after the rate of 3 per cent. interest, negotiable at the bank of England; and the accounts after being properly kept and signed,

were

On SMUGGLING, and its various Species.*

SIR,

THERE are many people that would be thought, and even think themselves, *bonest* men, who fail nevertheless in particular points of honesty; deviating from that character sometimes by the prevalence of mode or custom, and sometimes through mere inattention; so that their

* [This letter is extracted from the *London Chronicle* for November 24, 1767, and is addressed to the printer of that newspaper. E.]

were to be annually audited and recorded with the justices at the quarter-sessions. The relief to the poor in case of delay of payment was summary and almost instant; but in return, the corporation might receive gifts and legacies, and have the benefit of all neglected annuities, to the easing of the poor's-rate; besides other advantages given them by the calculations, particularly that arising from a low standard of interest, which necessarily rendered the terms of the annuity in proportion dearer to the poor. — It was thought that domestic use and oeconomy were concerned, in thus rescuing somewhat from profligacy and unhealthy debauchery, in applying the surplus of health and of strength to the relief of the penury and infirmities of age, and in promoting good habits; yet without depriving the state on the whole of effectual labour, or leaving it incumbered with the charge of individuals, who might assist themselves. — But this scheme, which was proposed by Baron Maseres, regulated and superintended as to the calculations by Dr. Price, and supported by Sir George Savile and Mr. Dowdeswell, only passed the commons: It was rejected by the lords; chiefly because the landed interest there was alarmed at the poor's rate being made the landed interest the annuities, in case of deficiency in the funds.

However the burthen of the poor's-rate was still felt too considerable not to demand enquiry; and an act soon passed, calling for a general abstract of the returns made by the overseers of the poor. It appeared in consequence, that there were

Totals

their *bounty* is partial only, and not *general* or universal. Thus one who would scorn to over-reach you in a bargain, shall make no scruple of tricking you a little now and then at cards; another that plays with the utmost fairness, shall with great freedom cheat you in the sale of a horse. But there is no kind of dishonesty, into which otherwise good people more easily and frequently fall, than that of defrauding government of its revenues by smuggling when they have an opportunity, or encouraging smugglers by buying their goods.

Totals raised by the poor's-rate, from Easter

1775, to Easter 1776.

In England

£ 1,679,585

And in Wales

40,732

Of which there was expended on the poor alone,

£ 1,523,164

33,641

1,556,805

The remainder of the sum raised was applied to county uses, except about 26,000*l.* which seems not to have been brought into the year's account. Nearly one twentieth of the enormous sum expended on the poor, was for the single article of rent, &c. and the litigations concerning settlements and the removal of paupers made another article of nearly half the same amount. — In *Devonshire* we find an estimate of the poor's-rate, made towards the latter end of Charles the second's reign, by a reasonable medium, as he states, of several years:

The gross sums are, For England £ 631,609

And for Wales 35,753

667,362

So that while the poor's-rate of Wales has remained in a manner stationary for this period, that of England does not fall much short of being trebled.

Since the year 1776, no farther public measures seem to have been taken respecting the regulation of the poor.

(See on the above subjects, The proposed act of parliament, with the annexed tables and instructions, printed for Eyre and Strahan; also the Abstract of the returns of the poor's-rate, printed for ditto; Dr. Price on payments, 3d edit. p. 115; and Whitworth's Davenport, Vol. I. p. 39.) E.]

K

I fell

I fell into these reflections the other day, on hearing two gentlemen of reputation discoursing about a small estate, which one of them was inclined to sell, and the other to buy; when the seller, in recommending the place, remarked, that its situation was very advantageous on this account, that being on the sea-coast in a smuggling country, one had frequent opportunities of buying many of the expensive articles used in a family, (such as tea, coffee, chocolate, brandy, wines, cambricks, Brussels laces, French silks, and all kinds of India goods,) 20, 30, and in some articles 50 *per cent.* cheaper than they could be had in the more interior parts, of traders that paid duty.—The other *bonest* gentlemen allowed this to be an advantage, but insisted that the seller, in the advanced price he demanded on that account, rated the advantage much above its value. And neither of them seemed to think dealing with smugglers, a practice that an *bonest* man (provided he got his goods cheap) had the least reason to be ashamed of.

At a time when the load of our public debt, and the heavy expence of maintaining our fleets and armies to be ready for our defence on occasion, makes it necessary not only to continue old taxes, but often to look out for new ones; perhaps it may not be useless to state this matter in a light that few seem to have considered it in.

The

The people of Great Britain, under the happy institution of this country, have a privilege few other countries enjoy, that of choosing the third branch of the legislature; which branch has alone the power of regulating their taxes. Now whenever the government finds it necessary for the common benefit, advantage, and safety of the nation, for the security of our liberties, property, religion, and every thing that is dear to us; that certain sums shall be yearly raised by taxes, duties, &c. and paid into the public treasury, thence to be dispensed by government for those purposes; ought not every *honest man* freely and willingly to pay his just proportion of this necessary expence? Can he possibly preserve a right to that character, if by any fraud, stratagem, or contrivance, he avoids that payment in whole or in part?

What should we think of a companion, who having supped with his friends at a tavern, and partaken equally of the joys of the evening with the rest of us, would nevertheless contrive by some artifice to shift his share of the reckoning upon others, in order to go off scot-free? If a man who practised this, would, when detected, be deemed and called a scoundrel; what ought he to be called, who can enjoy all the inestimable benefits of public society, and yet by smuggling, or dealing with smugglers, contrive to evade paying his just share of the expence, as settled by his own representatives in parliament; and wrongfully throw it upon his honest and per-

haps

haps much poorer neighbours? He will perhaps be ready to tell me, that he does not wrong his neighbours; he scorns the imputation; he only cheats the King a little, who is very able to bear it. This however is a mistake. The public treasure is the treasure of the nation, to be applied to national purposes. And when a duty is laid for a particular public and necessary purpose, if through smuggling that duty falls short of raising the sum required, and other duties must therefore be laid to make up the deficiency; all the additional sum laid by the new duties and paid by other people, though it should amount to no more than a halfpenny or a farthing *per head*, is so much actually picked out of the pockets of those other people by the smugglers and their abettors and encouragers. Are they then any better or other than pickpockets? and what mean, low, rascally pickpockets must those be, that can pick pockets for halfpence and for farthings?

I would not however be supposed to allow in what I have just said, that cheating the King is a less offence against honesty, than cheating the public. The King and the public in this case are different names for the same thing; but if we consider the King distinctly it will not lessen the crime: it is no justification of a robbery, that the person robbed was rich and able to bear it. The King has as much right to justice as the meanest of his subjects; and as he is truly the common *father* of his people, those that rob him

him fall under the scripture woe, pronounced against the son *that robbeth his father, and saith it is no sin.*

Mean as this practice is, do we not daily see people of character and fortune engaged in it for trifling advantages to themselves?—Is any lady ashamed to request of a gentleman of her acquaintance, that when he returns from abroad, he would smuggle her home a piece of silk or lace from France or Flanders? Is any gentleman ashamed to undertake and execute the commission?—Not in the least. They will talk of it freely, even before others whose pockets they are thus contriving to pick by this piece of knavery.

Among other branches of the revenue, that of the Post-Office is, by a late law, appropriated to the discharge of our public debt, to defray the expences of the state. None but members of parliament, and a few public officers have now a right to avoid, by a frank, the payment of postage. When any letter not written by them or on their business, is franked by any of them, it is a hurt to the revenue; an injury which they must now take the pains to conceal by writing the whole superscription themselves. And yet such is our insensibility to justice in this particular, that nothing is more common than to see, even in a reputable company, a *very honest* gentleman or lady declare, his or her intention to cheat the nation of three-pence by a frank; and without blushing apply to one of the very legislators themselves, with a modest request that he

he would be pleased to become an accomplice in the crime, and assist in the perpetration.

There are those who by these practices take a great deal in a year out of the public purse, and put the money into their own private pockets. If passing through a room where public treasure is deposited, a man takes the opportunity of clandestinely pocketing and carrying off a guinea, is he not truly and properly a thief? And if another evades paying into the treasury a guinea he ought to pay in, and applies it to his own use, when he knows it belongs to the public as much as that which has been paid in; what difference is there in the nature of the crime, or the baseness of committing it?

Some laws make the receiving of stolen goods equally penal with stealing, and upon this principle, that if there were no receivers there would be few thieves. Our proverb too, says truly, that *the receiver is as bad as the thief*. By the same reasoning, as there would be few smugglers, if there were none who knowingly encouraged them by buying their goods, we may say that the encouragers of smuggling are as bad as the smugglers; and that as smugglers are a kind of thieves, both equally deserve the punishments of thievery.

In this view of wronging the revenue, what must we think of those who can evade paying for their wheels and their plate, in defiance of law and justice, and yet declaim against corruption and peculation, as if their own hands and
hearts

hearts were pure and unsullied? The *Americans* offend us grievously, when, contrary to our laws, they smuggle goods into their own country: and yet they had no hand in making those laws. I do not however pretend from thence to justify them. But I think the offence much greater in those who either directly or indirectly have been concerned in making the very laws they break. And when I hear them exclaiming against the *Americans*, and for every little infringement of the acts of trade, or obstruction given by a petty mob to an officer of our customs in that country, calling for vengeance against the whole people as *REBELS* and *TRAITORS*; I cannot help thinking there are still those in the world who can see a mote in *their brother's eye*, while *they do not discern a beam in their own*; and that the old saying is as true now as ever it was, *one man may better steal a horse, than another look over the hedge.*

F. B.

A PARABLE

A PARABLE against Persecution, in Imitation of
Scripture Language *.

AND it came to pass after these things, that Abraham sat in the door of his tent, about the going down of the sun. And behold a man bent with age, coming from the way of the wilderness leaning on a staff. And Abraham arose, and met him, and said unto him, Turn in, I pray thee, and wash thy feet, and tarry all night; and thou shalt arise early in the morning, and go on thy way. And the man said, Nay; for I will abide under this tree. But Abraham pressed him greatly: so he turned and they went into the tent: and Abraham baked unleaven bread, and they did eat. And when Abraham saw that

* [I have taken this piece from the *Sketches of the History of Men* written by Lord *Kaimi*, and shall preface it with his Lordship's own words. See Vol. II. p. 472, 473.

* The following *Parable against Persecution* was communicated to me by Dr. *Franklin of Philadelphia*, a man who makes a great figure in the learned world: and who would still make a greater figure for benevolence and candour, were virtue as much regarded in this declining age as knowledge.

* * * * *
* The historical style of the *Old Testament* is here finely imitated; and the moral must strike every one who is not sunk in stupidity and superstition. Were it really a chapter of *Genesis*, one is apt to think, that persecution could never have shown a bare face among Jews or Christians. But alas! that is a vain thought. Such a passage in the *Old Testament*, would avail as little against the rancorous passions of men, as the following passages in the *New Testament*, though persecution cannot be condemned in terms more explicit. "Him that is weak in the faith, receive you, but not to doubtful disputations. For, &c." E.]

the

the man blessed not God, he said unto him, Wherefore dost thou not worship the most high God, Creator of heaven and earth? And the man answered and said, I do not worship thy God, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made to myself a god, which abideth all ways in my house, and provideth me with all things. And Abraham's zeal was kindled against the man, and he arose, and fell upon him, and drove him forth with blows into the wilderness. And God called unto Abraham, saying, Abraham, where is the stranger? And Abraham answered and said, Lord, he would not worship thee, neither would he call upon thy name; therefore have I driven him out from before my face into the wilderness. And God said, have I borne with him these hundred and ninety and eight years, and nourished him, and clothed him, notwithstanding his rebellion against me; and couldst not thou, who art thyself a sinner, bear with him one night *?

* [Dr. Franklin, as I have been told, has often imposed this parable upon his friends and acquaintance, as a part of a chapter of *Constitution*. E.]

*A LETTER concerning Persecution in former Ages,
the Maintenance of the Clergy, American
Bishops, and the State of Toleration in Old
England and New England compared*.*

SIR,

I Understand from the public papers, that in the debates on the bill for relieving the Dissenters in the point of subscription to the church articles, sundry reflections were thrown out against the people; importing, that they themselves are of a persecuting intolerant spirit, for that when they had the superiority, they persecuted the church; and still persecute it in *America*, where they compel its members to pay taxes for maintaining the Presbyterian or Independent worship, and at the same time refuse them a toleration in the full exercise of their religion, by the administrations of a bishop.

If we look back into history for the character of the present sects in Christianity, we shall find few that have not, in their turns, been persecutors and complainers of persecution. The primitive Christians thought persecution extremely wrong in the Pagans, but practised it on one

* [The above letter first appeared in one of the public papers on *June* 3, 1772, and seems to have been addressed to the printer. The spirited writer of the *Two letters to the prelates* republished it in an appendix to that pamphlet, without, however, naming Dr. *Franklin* as the author, but expressing it to be the production 'of a gentleman highly respected in the literary world.' E.]

another.

another. The first Protestants of the church of *England* blamed persecution in the *Romish* church, but practised it against the *Puritans*: these found it wrong in the bishops, but fell into the same practice both here and in New England.—To account for this, we should remember, that the doctrine of *toleration* was not then known, or had not prevailed in the world. Persecution was therefore not so much the fault of the sect as of the times. It was not in those days deemed wrong *in itself*. The general opinion was only, that those *who are in error* ought not to persecute *the truth*: but the *possessors of truth* were in the right to persecute error, in order to destroy it. Thus every sect believing itself possessed of *all truth*, and that every tenet differing from theirs was *error*, conceived that when the power was in their hands, persecution was a duty required of them by that God whom they supposed to be offended with heresy.—By degrees, more moderate and more *modest* sentiments have taken place in the Christian world; and among Protestants particularly, all disclaim persecution, none vindicate it, and few practise it.—We should then cease to reproach each other with what was done by our ancestors, but judge of the present character of sects or churches by their *present conduct* only*.

Now

* [^c Toleration in religion, though obvious to common understanding, was not however the production of reason, but of commerce. The advantage of toleration for promoting commerce,

Now to determine on the justice of this charge against the present Dissenters, particularly those in *America*, let us consider the following facts. They went from England to establish a new country for themselves, *at their own expence*, where they might enjoy the free exercise of religion in their own way. When they had purchased the territory of the natives, they granted the lands out in townships; requiring for it neither purchase-money nor quit-rent, but this condition only to be complied with; that the freeholders should support a gospel-minister (meaning probably one of the then governing sects) and a free-school, within the township. Thus, what is commonly called Presbyterianism became the *established religion* of that country. All went on well in this way, while the same religious opinions were general; the support of minister and school being raised by a proportionate tax on the lands. But, in process of time, some becoming Quakers*, some Baptists, and of late years, some returning

* was discovered long before by the *Portuguese*. They were too zealous Catholics to venture to bold a measure in *Portugal*; but it was permitted in *Goa*, and the inquisition in that town was confined to Roman Catholics.' Lord Kaim's *Sketches of the History of Man*, Vol. II. p. 474. E.]

[No person appeared in *New England* who professed the opinion of the Quakers, until 1656; [i. e. about 36 years after the first settling of the colony]; when *Mary Fisher* and *Ann Austin* came from *Barbadoes*; and soon after, nine others arrived in the ship *Speedwell* from *London*. They were successful in their preaching; and the provincial government, wishing to keep the colony free from them, attempted to send away such as they discovered, and prevent the arrival of others. Securities,

returning to the church of England (through the laudable endeavours and a *proper application* * of their funds by the society for propagating the gospel), objections were made to the payment of a tax appropriated to the support of a church they disapproved and had forsaken. The civil magistrates, however, continued for a time to collect and apply the tax according to the original laws which remained in force; and they did it the more freely, as thinking it just and equitable that the holders of lands should pay what was contracted to be paid when they were granted, as the only consideration for the grant; and what had been considered by all subsequent purchasers as a perpetual incumbrance on the estate, bought therefore at a proportionably cheaper rate; a payment which, it was thought, no honest man ought to avoid, under pretence of his having changed his religious persuasion: And this, I suppose, is one of the best grounds of demanding tythes of dissenters now in *England*. But the practice being clamoured against by the episcopalians as persecution, the legislature of the province of *Massachusetts Bay*, near thirty years since, passed an act

sitties, fines, banishment, imprisonment, and corporal punishments were instituted for this purpose; but with so little effect, that at last 'a law was made for punishing with death, all such * as should *return* into the jurisdiction *after banishment*. A few were hanged!' (See the history of the *British* dominions, 4to, 1773, p. 118, 120.) E.]

* [They were to spread the gospel, and maintain a learned and orthodox clergy, where ministers were wanted or ill-provided; administering God's word and sacraments, and preventing atheism, infidelity, popery, and idolatry. E.]

for

for their relief, requiring, indeed, the tax to be paid as usual; but directing that the several sums levied from members of the church of England, should be paid over to the minister of that church with whom such members usually attended divine worship; which minister had power given him to receive, and, on occasion, *to recover the same by law.*

It seems that legislature considered the end of the tax was, to secure and improve the morals of the people, and promote their happiness by supporting among them the public worship of God and the preaching of the gospel; that where particular people fancied a particular mode, that mode might probably, therefore, be of most use to those people; and that if the good was done, it was not so material in what mode or by whom it was done. The consideration that their brethren, the Dissenters in *England*, were still compelled to pay tythes to the clergy of the church, had not weight enough with the legislature to prevent this moderate act, which still continues in full force; and I hope no uncharitable conduct of the church toward the Dissenters will ever provoke them to repeal it. — — —

With regard to a *Bishop*, I know not upon what ground the Dissenters, either here or in America, are charged with refusing the benefit of such an officer to the church in that country. *Here* they seem to have naturally no concern in the affair. *There* they have no power to prevent it, if government should think fit to send one. They would

would probably *dislike*, indeed, to see an order of men established among them, from whose persecutions their fathers fled into that wilderness, and whose future domination they might possibly fear, *not knowing that their natures are changed*. — But the non-appointment of bishops for *America* seems to arise from another quarter. The same wisdom of government, probably, that prevents the fitting of convocations, and forbids, by *noli prosequi*, the persecution of Dissenters for non-subscription; avoids establishing bishops where the minds of people are not yet prepared to receive them cordially, lest the public peace should be endangered.

And now let us see how this *persecution-account* stands between the parties.

In *New England*, where the legislative bodies are almost to a man Dissenters from the church of *England*:

1. There is no test to prevent churchmen holding offices.
2. The sons of churchmen have the full benefit of the universities.
3. The taxes for support of public worship, when paid by churchmen, are given to the episcopal minister.

In *Old England*:

1. Dissenters are excluded from all offices of profit and honour.
2. The benefits of education in the universities are appropriated to the sons of churchmen.

3. The

3. The clergy of the Dissenters receive none of the tythes paid by their people, who must be at the additional charge of maintaining their own separate worship.—

But it is said, that the Dissenters of *America* oppose the introduction of a bishop.

In fact, it is not alone the Dissenters there that give the opposition (if *not encouraging* must be termed *opposing*) but the laity in general dislike the project, and some even of the clergy. The inhabitants of *Virginia* are almost all episcopallians, the church is fully established there, and the council and general assembly are, perhaps to a man, its members : yet, when lately at a meeting of the clergy, a resolution was taken to apply for a bishop, against which several, however, protested ; the assembly of the province, at the next meeting, expressed their disapprobation of the thing in the strongest manner, by unanimously ordering the thanks of the house to the protesters ; for many of the *American* laity of the church think it some advantage—whether their own young men come to *England* for ordination, and improve themselves at the same time by conversation with the learned here,—or the congregations are supplied by *Englishmen* who have had the benefit of education in English universities, and are ordained before they came abroad. They do not, therefore, see the necessity of a bishop merely for ordination ; and confirmation is among them deemed a ceremony of no very great importance, since few

few seek it in *England*, where bishops are in plenty.—These sentiments prevail with many churchmen there, not to promote a design which they think must sooner or later saddle them with great expences to support it.—As to the Dissenters, their minds might probably be more conciliated to the measure if the bishops here should, in their wisdom and goodness, think fit to set their sacred character in a more friendly light, by dropping their opposition to the Dissenters application for relief in subscription; and declaring their willingness that Dissenters should be capable of offices, enjoy the benefit of education in the universities, and the privilege of appropriating their tythes to the support of their own clergy. In all these points of toleration, they appear far behind the present Dissenters of New England, and it may seem to some a step below the dignity of bishops, to follow the example of such inferiors. I do not, however, despair of their doing it some time or other, since nothing of the kind is too hard for *true Christian* *bu-*
mility.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

A NEW-ENGLAND-MAN †.

† [Dr. Franklin was born at *Dorset* in New England, and not at *Philadelphia*. E.]

II.

P A P E R S

UPON

AMERICAN SUBJECTS

BEFORE

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THE THOUGHT

BEFORE

AMERICAN SUBJECTS

UPON

B V B E R S

II.

ALBANY PAPERS.

Containing, I. *Reasons and Motives on which the PLAN of UNION for the COLONIES was formed*;—II. *Reasons against partial Unions*;—III. *And the Plan of Union drawn by B. F. and unanimously agreed to by the Commissioners from New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania*, met in Congress at Albany, in July 1754, to consider*

* [The reader must be informed here, that this plan was intended for *all* the colonies; but, commissioners from some of them not attending, (from causes which I cannot specify) their consent to it was not, in this respect, universally expressed. Governor *Pownall*, however, says, 'That he had an opportunity of conversing with, and knowing the sentiments of the commissioners' appointed by their respective provinces, to attend this congress, to which they were called by the crown;' 'of learning from their experience and judgment, the actual state of the *American* business and interest; and of hearing amongst them, the grounds and reasons of that *American* Union, which they then had under deliberation, and transmitted the plan of to *England*;' and, he adds, in another place, 'that the sentiments of our colonies were collected in an authentic manner on this subject in the plan proposed by Dr. *Franklin*, and unanimously agreed to in congress.' [See Governor *Pownall's Administration of the British Colonies*, Vol. I. p. 13. Edit. 4. 1774, and Vol. II. p. 86. E.]

of

of the best Means of defending the King's Dominions in America, &c. a War being then apprehended; with the Reasons or Motives for each Article of the Plan.

B. F. was one of the four Commissioners from Pennsylvania *.

I. *Reasons and Motives on which the Plan of Union was formed.*

THE Commissioners from a number of the northern colonies being met at *Albany*, and considering the difficulties that have always attended the most necessary general measures for the common defence, or for the annoyance of the enemy, when they were to be carried through the several particular assemblies of all the colonies; some assemblies being before at variance with their governors or councils, and the several branches of the government not on terms of doing business with each other; others taking the opportunity, when their concurrence is wanted, to push for favourite laws, powers, or points that they think

* [Mr. [since Governor] Hutchinson was one of the commissioners for *Massachusetts Bay*.] (Governor *Peowall* as above, Vol. II. p. 144.) * *Thomas Peowall*, Esq; brother to *John Peowall*, Esq; one of the Secretaries to the Board of Trade, and afterwards Governor of the *Massachusetts*, was upon the spot. (*History of the British Empire in North America*, p. 25.) E.]

could

could not at other times be obtained, and so *creating* disputes and quarrels; one assembly waiting to see what another will do, being afraid of doing more than its share, or desirous of doing less; or refusing to do any thing, because its country is not at present so much exposed as others, or because another will reap more immediate advantage; from one or other of which causes, the assemblies of six (out of seven) colonies applied to, had granted no assistance to *Virginia*, when lately invaded by the *French*, though purposely convened, and the importance of the occasion earnestly urged upon them: Considering moreover, that one principal encouragement to the *French*, in invading and insulting the British American dominions, was their knowledge of our disunited state, and of our weakness arising from such want of union; and that from hence different colonies were, at different times, extremely harassed, and put to great expence both of blood and treasure, who would have remained in peace, if the enemy had had cause to fear the drawing on themselves the resentment and power of the whole; the said Commissioners, considering also the present incroachments of the *French*, and the mischievous consequences that may be expected from them, if not opposed with our force, came to an unanimous resolution,—*That an union of the colonies is absolutely necessary for their preservation.*

The manner of forming and establishing this union was the next point. When it was considered that the colonies were seldom all in equal danger

danger at the same time, or equally near the danger, or equally sensible of it; that some of them had particular interests to manage, with which an union might interfere; and that they were extremely jealous of each other;—it was thought impracticable to obtain a joint agreement of all the colonies to an union, in which the expence and burthen of defending any of them should be divided among them all; and if ever acts of assembly in all the colonies could be obtained for that purpose, yet as any colony, on the least dissatisfaction, might repeal its own act and thereby withdraw itself from the union, it would not be a stable one, or such as could be depended on: for if only one colony should, on any disgust withdraw itself, others might think it unjust and unequal that they, by continuing in the union, should be at the expence of defending a colony which refused to bear its proportionable part, and would therefore one after another, withdraw, till the whole crumbled in to its original parts.—Therefore the commissioners came to another previous resolution, viz. *That it was necessary the union should be established by act of parliament.*

They then proceeded to sketch out a plan of union, which they did in a plain and concise manner, just sufficient to shew their sentiments of the kind of union that would best suit the circumstances of the colonies, be most agreeable to the people, and most effectually promote his Majesty's service and the general interest of

of the British empire.—This was respectfully sent to the assemblies of the several colonies for their consideration, and to receive such alterations and improvements as they should think fit and necessary; after which it was proposed to be transmitted to *England* to be perfected, and the establishment of it there humbly solicited.

This was as much as the commissioners could do †. *

II. *Reasons against partial Unions.*

It was proposed by some of the Commissioners to form the colonies into two or three distinct unions; but for these reasons that proposal was dropped even by those that made it; [*viz.*]

1. In all cases where the strength of the whole was necessary to be used against the enemy, there would be the same difficulty in degree, to bring the several unions to unite together, as now the several colonies; and consequently the same delays on our part and advantage to the enemy.

2. Each union would separately be weaker than when joined by the whole, obliged to exert more force, be more oppressed by the expence, and the enemy less deterred from attacking it.

3. Where particular colonies have *selfish views*, as New York with regard to Indian trade and

† [Dr. Deventer was so well convinced of the expediency of an union of the colonies, that he recites, at full length, a plan contrived, as he says, with good judgment for the purpose. *Deventer*, Vol. I. p. 49, 41, of Sir C. M. Deventer's Edition. E.]

lands;

lands; or are *less exposed*, being covered by others, as New Jersey, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland; or have *particular vobins and prejudices* against warlike measures in general, as Pennsylvania; where the Quakers predominate; such colonies would have more weight in a partial union, and be better able to oppose and obstruct the measures necessary for the general good, than where they are swallowed up in the general union.

4. The *Indian* trade would be better regulated by the union of the whole than by partial unions. And as *Canada* is chiefly supported by that trade, if it could be drawn into the hands of the *English*, (as it might be if the Indians were supplied on moderate terms, and by honest traders appointed by and acting for the public) that alone would contribute greatly to the weakening of our enemies.

5. The establishing of new colonies westward on the *Ohio* and the lakes, (a matter of considerable importance to the increase of *British* trade and power, to the breaking that of the *French*, and to the protection and security of our present colonies,) would best be carried on by a joint union.

6. It was also thought, that by the frequent meetings-together of commissioners or representatives from all the colonies, the circumstances of the whole would be better known, and the good of the whole better provided for; and that the colonies would by this connection learn to consider themselves, not as so many independent

dent states, but as members of the same body; and thence be more ready to afford assistance and support to each other, and to make diversions in favour even of the most distant, and to join cordially in any expedition for the benefit of all against the common enemy.

These were the principal reasons and motives for forming the plan of union as it stands. To which may be added this, that as the union of the

The remainder of this article is lost.

III. *Plan of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina for their mutual Defence and Security, and for extending the British Settlements in North America, with the Reasons and Motives for each Article of the Plan [as far as could be remembered.]*

It is proposed.—That humble application be made for an act of parliament of Great Britain, by virtue of which one general government may be formed in

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America

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America including all the said colonies, within and under which government each colony may retain its present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a change may be directed by the said act as hereafter follows *.

President General, and Grand Council.

That the said general government be administered by a President General to be appointed and supported by the crown; and a Grand Council to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies met in their respective assemblies.

It was thought that it would be best the President General should be supported as well as appointed by the crown; that so all disputes between him and the Grand Council concerning his salary might be prevented; as such disputes have been frequently of mischievous consequence in particular colonies, especially in time of public danger. The quit-rents of crown-lands in America, might in a short time be suf-

ficient to bear the whole charge of the government. [The reader may perceive, by the difference of the type, which is the text of the plan, and which the *ves/mas* and *muties* mentioned in the title. They are thus consolidated for his convenience. The Editor has taken one or two farther liberties in *transferring* these *every* paper; but the sense remains as before. E.]

sufficient

ficient for this purpose.—The choice of members for the grand council is placed in the hands of representatives of each government, in order to give the people a share in this new general government, as the crown has its share by the appointment of the President General.

But it being proposed by the gentlemen of the council of *New York*, and some other counsellors among the commissioners, to alter the plan in this particular, and to give the governors and council of the several provinces a share in the choice of the grand council, or at least a power of approving and confirming or of disallowing the choice made by the house of representatives, it was said :

“ That the government or constitution proposed to be formed by the plan, consists of two branches; a President General appointed by the crown, and a council chosen by the people, or by the people’s representatives, which is the same thing.

“ That by a subsequent article, the council chosen by the people can effect nothing without the consent of the President General appointed by the crown; the crown possesses therefore full one half of the power of this constitution.

“ That in the British constitution, the crown is supposed to possess but one third, the Lords having their share.

“ That this constitution seemed rather more favourable for the crown.

“ That

“ That it is essential to English liberty, [that]
“ the subject should not be taxed but by his own
“ consent or the consent of his elected representatives.

“ That taxes to be laid and levied by this
“ proposed constitution will be proposed and
“ agreed to by the representatives of the people,
“ if the plan in this particular be preserved:
“ But if the proposed alteration should take
“ place, it seemed as if matters may be so managed
“ as that the crown shall finally have the
“ appointment not only of the President General,
“ but of a majority of the grand council;
“ for, seven out of eleven governors and councils
“ are appointed by the crown:

“ And so the people in all the colonies would
“ in effect be taxed by their governors.

“ It was therefore apprehended that such alterations
“ of the plan would give great dissatisfaction,
“ and that the colonies could not be easy under such a power in governors, and
“ such an infringement of what they take to be
“ *English* liberty.

“ Besides, the giving a share in the choice of
“ the grand council would not be equal with respect
“ to all the colonies, as their constitutions differ.
“ In some, both governor and council are appointed by the crown. In others, they
“ are both appointed by the proprietors. In some,
“ the people have a share in the choice of the council;
“ in others, both government and council are wholly chosen by the people. But
“ the

“ the house of representatives is every where
“ chosen by the people ; and therefore placing the
“ right of choosing the grand council in the
“ representatives, is equal with respect to all.

“ That the grand council is intended to re-
“ present all the several houses of representa-
“ tives of the colonies, as a house of repre-
“ sentatives doth the several towns or counties
“ of a colony. Could all the people of a colo-
“ ny be consulted and unite in public measures,
“ a house of representatives would be needless :
“ and could all the assemblies conveniently con-
“ sult and unite in general measures, the grand
“ council would be unnecessary.

“ That a house of commons or the house of
“ representatives, and the grand council, are thus
“ alike in their nature and intention. And as
“ it would seem improper that the King or house
“ of Lords should have a power of disallow-
“ ing or appointing members of the house of
“ commons ;—so likewise that a governor and
“ council appointed by the crown should have a
“ power of disallowing or appointing mem-
“ bers of the grand council, (who, in this con-
“ stitution, are to be the representatives of the
“ people.)

“ If the governors and councils therefore
“ were to have a share in the choice of any
“ that are to conduct this general government,
“ it should seem more proper that they chose
“ the President General. But this being an of-
“ fice of great trust and importance to the na-
“ tion,

"tion, it was thought better to be filled by the
"immediate appointment of the crown."

"The power proposed to be given by the plan,
"to the grand council is only a concentration of
"the powers of the several assemblies in certain
"points for the general welfare; as the power of
"the President General is of the powers of the
"several governors in the same points.

"And as the choice therefore of the grand
"council by the representatives of the people,
"neither gives the people any new powers, nor
"diminishes the power of the crown, it was
"thought and hoped the crown would not dis-
"approve of it."

Upon the whole, the commissioners were of
opinion, that the choice was most properly plac-
ed in the representatives of the people.

Election of Members.

That within months after the
passing such act, the house of representa-
tives that happen to be sitting within that
time, or that shall be especially for that
purpose convened, may and shall choose
members for the grand council, in the fol-
lowing proportion, that is to say,

Massachusetts's

<i>Massachusetts's Bay</i>	- - -	7
<i>New Hampshire</i>	- - -	2
<i>Connecticut</i>	- - -	5
<i>Rhode Island</i>	- - -	2
<i>New York</i>	- - -	4
<i>New Jerseys</i>	- - -	3
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	- - -	6
<i>Maryland</i>	- - -	4
<i>Virginia</i>	- - -	7
<i>North Carolina</i>	- - -	4
<i>South Carolina</i>	- - -	4

It was thought that if the least colony was allowed two, and the others in proportion, the number would be very great and the expence heavy; and that less than two would not be convenient, as a single person, being by any accident prevented appearing at the meeting, the colony he ought to appear for would not be represented. That as the choice was not immediately popular, they would be generally men of good abilities for business, and men of reputation for integrity; and that forty-eight such men might be a number sufficient. But, though it was thought reasonable that each colony should have a share in the representative body in some degree, according to the proportion it contributed to the general treasury; yet the proportion of wealth or power of the colonies is not

to.

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to be judged by the proportion here fixed; because it was at first agreed that the greatest colony should not have more than seven members, nor the least less than two: and the settling these proportions between these two extremes was not nicely attended to, as it would find itself, after the first election from the sums brought into the treasury, as by a subsequent article.

Place of first Meeting.

—who shall meet for the first time at the city of *Philadelphia* in *Pensylvania*, being called by the President General as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment.

Philadelphia was named as being the nearer the center of the colonies, where the Commissioners would be well and cheaply accommodated. The high-roads through the whole extent, are for the most part very good, in which forty or fifty miles a day may very well be and frequently are travelled. Great part of the way may likewise be gone by water. In summer-time the passages are frequently performed in a week from *Charles Town* to *Philadelphia* and *New York*; and from *Rhode Island* to *New York* through the Sound in two or three days; and from *New York* to *Philadelphia* by water and land in two days, by stage-boats and wheel-carriages that set out every other day. The journey from *Charles Town* to *Philadelphia* may

may likewise be facilitated by boats running up Chesapeake Bay three hundred miles.—But if the whole journey be performed on horseback, the most distant members, (*viz.* the two from *New Hampshire* and from *South Carolina*) may probably render themselves at Philadelphia in fifteen or twenty-days;—the majority may be there in much less time.

New Election.

That there shall be a new election of the members of the Grand Council every three years; and on the death or resignation of any member, his place shall be supplied by a new choice at the next sitting of the assembly of the colony he represented.

Some colonies have annual assemblies, some continuing during a governor's pleasure; three years was thought a reasonable medium, as affording a new member time to improve himself in the business, and to act after such improvement; and yet giving opportunities, frequent enough, to change him if he has misbehaved.

Proportion of Members after the first three Years.

That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of

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each

each colony to the general treasury can be known, the number of members to be chosen for each colony shall from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion (yet so as that the number to be chosen by any one province be not more than seven, nor less than two).

By a subsequent article it is proposed, that the general council shall lay and levy such general duties as to them may appear most equal and least burthensome, &c. Suppose, for instance, they lay a small duty or excise on some commodity imported into or made in the colonies, and pretty generally and equally used in all of them; as rum perhaps, or wine: the yearly produce of this duty or excise, if fairly collected, would be in some colonies greater, in others less, as the colonies are greater or smaller. When the collectors accounts are brought in, the proportions will appear; and from them it is proposed to regulate the proportion of representatives to be chosen at the next general election, within the limits however of seven and two. These numbers may therefore vary in course of years, as the colonies may in the growth and increase of people. And thus the quota of tax from each colony would naturally vary with its circumstances; thereby preventing all disputes and dissatisfactions about the just proportions due

from each; which might otherwise produce pernicious consequences, and destroy the harmony and good agreement that ought to subsist between the several parts of the union.

Meetings of the Grand Council, and Call.

That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the President General on any emergency; he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole.

It was thought, in establishing and governing new colonies or settlements, regulating *Indian* trade, *Indian* treaties, &c. there would be every year sufficient business arise to require at least one meeting, and at such meeting many things might be suggested for the benefit of all the colonies. This annual meeting may either be at a time or place certain, to be fixed by the President General and grand council at their first meeting; or left at liberty, to be at such time and place as they shall adjourn to, or be called to meet at by the President General.

In

In time of war it seems convenient, that the meeting should be in that colony, which is nearest the seat of action.

The power of calling them on any emergency seemed necessary to be vested in the President General; but that such power might not be wantonly used to harass the members, and oblige them to make frequent long journeys to little purpose, the consent of seven at least to such call was supposed a convenient guard.

Continuance.

That the Grand Council have power to choose their speaker; and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time; without their own consent or the special command of the crown.

The speaker should be presented for approbation; it being convenient, to prevent misunderrstandings and dissuists, that the mouth of the council should be a person agreeable, if possible, both to the council and President General.

Governors have sometimes wantonly exercised the power of proroguing or continuing the sessions of assemblies, merely to harass the members and compel a compliance; and sometimes dissolve them on slight dissuists. This it was feared might be done by the President General, if not provided against:

against the inconvenience and hardship would be greater in the general government than in particular colonies, in proportion to the distance the members must be from home, during sittings, and the long journey some of them must undertake.

Members' Allowance.

That the members of the Grand Council shall be allowed for their service ten shillings sterling *per diem*, during their session and journey to and from the place of meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.

It was thought proper to allow *some* wages, lest the expence might deter some suitable persons from the service; and not to allow too great wages, lest unsuitable persons should be tempted to cabal for the employment for the sake of gain. — Twenty miles was set down as a day's journey to allow for accidental hinderances on the road, and the greater expences of travelling than residing at the place of meeting.

Assent of President General and his Duty.

That the assent of the President General be requisite to all acts of the Grand Council;

Council; and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

The assent of the President General to all acts of the grand council was made necessary, in order to give the crown its due share of influence in this government, and connect it with that of *Great Britain*. The President General, besides one half of the legislative power, hath in his hands the whole executive power.

Power of President General and Grand Council. Treaties of Peace and War.

That the President General, with the advice of the Grand Council, hold or direct all *Indian* treaties in which the general interest of the colonies may be concerned; and make peace or declare war with *Indian* nations.

The power of making peace or war with *Indian* nations is at present supposed to be in every colony, and is expressly granted to some by charter, so that no new power is hereby intended to be granted to the colonies.—But as, in consequence of this power, one colony might make peace with a nation that another was justly engaged in war with; or make war on slight occasions without

without the concurrence or approbation of neighbouring colonies, greatly endangered by it; or make particular treaties of neutrality in case of a general war, to their own private advantage in trade, by supplying the common enemy; of all which there have been instances—it was thought better to have all treaties of a general nature under a general direction; that so the good of the whole may be consulted and provided for.

Indian Trade.

That they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade.

Many quarrels and wars have arisen between the colonies and Indian nations, through the bad conduct of traders; who cheat the Indians after making them drunk, &c. to the great expense of the colonies both in blood and treasure. Particular colonies are so interested in the trade as not to be willing to admit such a regulation as might be best for the whole; and therefore it was thought best under a general direction.

Indian Purchases.

That they make all purchases from Indians for the crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular colonies or that shall not be within their bounds when

when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions.

Purchases from the Indians made by private persons, have been attended with many inconveniences. They have frequently interfered, and occasioned uncertainty of titles, many disputes and expensive law-suits, and hindered the settlement of the land so disputed. Then the Indians have been cheated by such private purchases, and discontent and wars have been the consequence. These would be prevented by public fair purchases.

Several of the colony charters in America extend their bounds to the *South Sea*, which may be perhaps three or four thousand miles in length to one or two hundred miles in breadth. It is supposed they must in time be reduced to dimensions more convenient for the common purposes of government*.

Very

* [Mr. Baron M——, in page 200 of his account of the *Proceedings at Quebec, for obtaining an Assembly*, has the following hint: 'The vast enlargement of the province [of *Quebec*] by adding to it a new territory that contains, according to Lord Hillsborough's estimation of it, five hundred and eleven millions of acres, (that is, more land than *Spain, Italy, France, and Germany* put together, and most of it good land) is a measure that would require an ample discussion.'—That the reader may not suspect that *these dimensions were convenient for uncommon purposes of government*, I shall quote the motives assigned upon this occasion by the act regulating the government of *Quebec*. 'By the arrangements made by the royal proclamation, a very large extent of [outlying] country, within which there were several colonies, and settlements of the subjects of *France*, who claimed to remain therein

Very little of the land in those grants is yet purchased of the Indians.

It is much cheaper to purchase of them, than to take and maintain the possession by force: for they are generally very reasonable in their demands for land*; and the expence of guarding a large frontier against their incursions is vastly great; because all must be guarded and always

therein under the faith of the said treaty, was left without any provision being made for the administration of civil government therein: i. e. a few Indian traders were a pretext for this appropriation of a tract of country, which according to the minister's estimate, was more than 13 times larger than *England* and *Wales* united, nearly 128 times larger than *Jamaica*, almost $\frac{1}{4}$ part of *Europe*, and considerably more than $\frac{1}{10}$ part of the whole habitable earth, (comparing it with the several calculations in *The Political Survey of Great Britain* by Dr. Campbell, and in that of *Jamaica* by Mr. Long.) 'Now all the inhabitants of the province of *Quebec*, says this very act, amounted at the conquest to above sixty-five thousand [only,] professing the religion of the church of *Rome*, and enjoying an established form of constitution and system of laws.' E.]

[Dr. Franklin, (*says Mr. Kalm the Swede*), and several other gentlemen, frequently told me, that a powerful Indian, who possessed *Rhode Island*, had sold it to the *English* for a pair of spectacles; it is large enough for a prince's domain, and makes a peculiar government at present. This Indian knew [how] to set a true value upon a pair of spectacles; for undoubtedly if those glasses were not so plentiful, and only a few of them could be found, they would, on account of their great use, bear the same price with diamonds.' See *Kalm's Travels into North America*, Vol. I. p. 386, 387. At the time when the *Swedes* first arrived, they bought land at a very inconsiderable price. For a piece of balise or a pot full of brandy, or the like, they could get a piece of ground, which at present would be worth more than 200*l.* sterling. Ib. Vol. II. p. 118.—The truth is, that the Indians considered their lands as mere hunting-grounds; and not as farms. E.]

guarded, as we know not where or when *to expect them* †.

New Settlements.

That they make new settlements on such purchases by granting lands in the King's name, reserving a quit-rent to the crown for the use of the general treasury.

It is supposed better that there should be one purchaser than many; and that the crown should be that purchaser, or the union in the name of the crown. By this means the bargains may be more easily made, the price not enhanced by numerous bidders, future disputes about private Indian purchases, and monopolies of vast tracts to particular persons (which are prejudicial to the settlement and peopling of a country) prevented; and the land being again granted in small tracts to the settlers, the quit-

† [To guard against the incursions of the *Indians*, a plan was sent over to *America* (and, as I think, by authority,) suggesting the expediency of clearing away the woods and bushes from a tract of land, a mile in breadth, and extending along the back of the colonies. Unfortunately, besides the large expence of this undertaking (which, if one acre cost *2l. sterling*, and 640 acres make a square mile, is 128,000*l. sterling* for every 100 miles;) it was forgotten that the *Indians*, like other people, knew the difference between day and night, and that a mile of advance and another of retreat, were nothing to the celerity of such an enemy.—This plan, it is said, was the work of Dean *T-ct-r*; and possibly might contain many other particulars. The plans of Doctor *Franklin* and Governor *Pownall* appear much more feasible. E.]

rents

rents reserved may in time become a fund for support of government, for defence of the country, ease of taxes, &c.

Strong forts on the lakes, the Ohio, &c. may at the same time they secure our present frontiers, serve to defend new colonies settled under their protection; and such colonies would also mutually defend and support such forts, and better secure the friendship of the far Indians.

A particular colony has scarce strength enough to extend itself by new settlements, at so great a distance from the old; but the joint force of the union might suddenly establish a new colony or two in those parts, or extend an old colony to particular passes, greatly to the security of our present frontiers, increase of trade and people, breaking off the French communication between *Canada* and *Louisiana*, and speedy settlement of the intermediate lands.

The power of settling new colonies is therefore thought a valuable part of the plan; and what cannot so well be executed by two unions as by one.

Laws to govern them.

That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown shall think fit to form them into particular governments.

The

The making of laws suitable for the new colonies, it was thought would be properly vested in the President General and grand council; under whose protection they will at first necessarily be, and who would be well acquainted with their circumstances, as having settled them. When they are become sufficiently populous, they may by the crown, be formed into complete and distinct governments.

The appointment of a Sub-president by the crown, to take place in case of the death or absence of the President General, would perhaps be an improvement of the plan; and if all the governors of particular provinces were to be formed into a standing council of state, for the advice and assistance of the President General, it might be another considerable improvement.

Raise Soldiers and equip Vessels, &c.

That they raise and pay soldiers and build forts for the defence of any of the colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes *, or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any colony without the consent of the legislature.

* [According to a plan which had been proposed by Governor Pennell, and approved of by congress. — Administration of the colonies, Vol. II. p. 148. E.]

It was thought, that quotas of men to be raised and paid by the several colonies, and joined for any public service, could not always be got together with the necessary expedition. For instance, suppose one thousand men should be wanted in *New Hampshire* on any emergency; to fetch them by *stages* and hundreds out of every colony as far as *South Carolina*, would be inconvenient, the transportation chargeable, and the occasion perhaps passed before they could be assembled; and therefore that it would be best to raise them (by offering bounty-money and pay) near the place where they would be wanted, to be discharged again when the service should be over.

Particular colonies are at present backward to build forts at their own expence, which they say will be equally useful to their neighbouring colonies; who refuse to join, on a presumption that such forts *will* be built and kept up, though they contribute nothing. This unjust conduct weakens the whole; but the forts being for the good of the whole, it was thought best they should be built and maintained by the whole, out of the common treasury.

In the time of war, small vessels of force are sometimes necessary in the colonies to scour the coast of small privateers. These being provided by the Union, will be an advantage in turn to the colonies which are situated on the sea, and whose frontiers on the land-side, being covered by other colonies, reap but little immediate benefit from the advanced forts.

Power

Power to make Laws, lay Duties, &c.

That for these purposes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imports, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just, (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies,) and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burthens.

The laws which the President General and grand council are empowered to make, *are such only* as shall be necessary for the government of the settlements; the raising, regulating and paying soldiers for the general service; the regulating of Indian trade; and laying and collecting the general duties and taxes. (They should also have a power to restrain the exportation of provisions to the enemy from any of the colonies, on particular occasions, in time of war.) But is it not intended that they may interfere with the constitution and government of the particular colonies; who are to be left to their own laws, and to lay, levy, and apply their own taxes as before.

General Treasurer and Particular Treasurer.

That they may appoint a General Treasurer and Particular Treasurer in each government when necessary; and from time to time may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury; or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient.

The treasurers here meant are only for the general funds; and not for the particular funds of each colony, which remain in the hands of their own treasurers at their own disposal.

Money how to issue.

Yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the President General and Grand Council; except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the President General is previously empowered by an act to draw for such sums.

To prevent misapplication of the money, or even application that might be dissatisfactory to the crown or the people, it was thought necessary

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to join the President General and grand council in all issues of money.

Accounts.

That the general Accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the several assemblies.

By communicating the accounts yearly to each assembly, they will be satisfied of the prudent and honest conduct of their representatives in the grand council.

Quorum.

That a quorum of the Grand Council impowered to act with the President General, do consist of twenty-five members; among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the colonies.

The quorum seems large, but it was thought it would not be satisfactory to the colonies in general, to have matters of importance to the whole transacted by a smaller number, or even by this number of twenty-five, unless there were among them one at least from a majority of the colonies; because otherwise the whole quorum being made up of members from three or four colonies at one end

end of the union, something might be done, that would not be equal with respect to the rest, and thence dissatisfactions and discords might rise to the prejudice of the whole.

Laws to be transmitted.

That the laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid shall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of *England*, and shall be transmitted to the King in council for approbation as soon as may be after their passing; and if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force.

This was thought necessary for the satisfaction of the crown, to preserve the connection of the parts of the *British* empire with the whole, of the members with the head, and to induce greater care and circumspection in making of the laws, that they be good in themselves and for the general benefit.

Death of the President General.

That in case of the death of the President General, the Speaker of the Grand Council for the time being shall succeed, and be

vested with the same powers and authorities, to continue till the King's pleasure be known.

It might be better, perhaps, as was said before, if the crown appointed a Vice President, to take place on the death or absence of the President General; for so we should be more sure of a suitable person at the head of the colonies. On the death or absence of both, the speaker to take place (or rather the eldest King's-governor) till his Majesty's pleasure be known.

Officers how appointed.

That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the President General; but the approbation of the Grand Council is to be obtained, before they receive their commissions. And all civil officers are to be nominated by the Grand Council, and to receive the President General's approbation before they officiate.

It was thought it might be very prejudicial to the service, to have officers appointed unknown to the people, or unacceptable; the generality of

Ame-

Americans serving willingly under officers they know; and not caring to engage in the service under strangers, or such as are often appointed by governors through favour or interest. The service here meant, is not the stated settled service in standing troops; but any sudden and short service; either for defence of our own colonies, or invading the enemies country; (such as, the expedition to *Cape Breton* in the last war; in which many substantial farmers and tradesmen engaged as common soldiers under officers of their own country, for whom they had an esteem and affection; who would not have engaged in a standing army, or under officers from England.) — It was therefore thought best to give the council the power of approving the officers, which the people will look upon as a great security of their being good men. And without some such provision as this, it was thought the expence of engaging men in the service on any emergency would be much greater, and the number who could be induced to engage much less; and that therefore it would be most for the King's service and general benefit of the nation, that the prerogative should relax a little in this particular throughout all the colonies in America; as it had already done much more in the charters of some particular colonies, viz. *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island*.

The civil officers will be chiefly treasurers and collectors of taxes; and the suitable persons are most likely to be known by the council.

Vacancies how supplied.

But in case of vacancy by death, or removal of any officer civil or military under this constitution, the governor of the province in which such vacancy happens, may appoint till the pleasure of the President General and Grand Council can be known.

The vacancies were thought best supplied by the governors in each province, till a new appointment can be regularly made; otherwise the service might suffer before the meeting of the President General and grand council.

*Each Colony may defend itself on
Emergency, &c.*

That the particular military as well as civil establishments in each colony remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding; and that on sudden emergencies any colony may defend itself and lay the accounts of expence thence arising before the President General and general council, who may allow and order pay-

payment of the same as far as they judge such accounts just and reasonable.

Otherwise the Union of the whole would weaken the parts; contrary to the design of the union. The accounts are to be judged of by the President General and grand council, and allowed if found reasonable: this was thought necessary to encourage colonies to defend themselves, as the expence would be light when borne by the whole; and also to check imprudent and lavish expence in such defences †.

† [This plan of union, it will appear from the next page, was rejected, and another proposed to be substituted by the English minister, which had for its chief object, the taking power from the people in the colonies in order to give it to the crown. E.]

I. LETTER to Governor Shirley, concerning
the Imposition of direct Taxes upon the Colonies,
without their Consent *.

SIR,

Tuesday Morning,

I return you the loose sheets of the plan,
with thanks to your Excellency for communicating them.

I Apprehend, that excluding the *people* of the colonies from all share in the choice of the grand council, will give extreme dissatisfaction; as well as the taxing them by act of parliament, where

* [These letters to Governor Shirley first appeared in the *London Chronicle* for Feb. 6—8, 1766, with an introduction signed *A Lover of Britain*. In the beginning of the year 1776, they were republished in *Almon's Remembrancer*, with an additional prefatory piece, under the signature of *A Mourner over our Calamities*.—I shall explain the subject of them in the words of one of these writers. '*The Albany Plan of Union* was sent to the government here for approbation: had it been approved and established by authority from hence, *English America* thought itself sufficiently able to cope with the *French*, without other assistance; several of the colonies having alone, in former wars, withstood the whole power of the enemy, unassisted not only by the mother-country, but by any of the neighbouring provinces.—The plan, however, was not approved here; but a *New one* was formed instead of it; by which it was proposed, that "the governors of all the colonies, attended by one or two members of their respective councils, should assemble, and concert measures for " the

where they have no representation. It is very possible, that this general government might be as well and faithfully administered without the people, as with them; but where heavy burdens are to be laid upon them, it has been found useful to make it, as much as possible, their own act; for they bear better, when they have, or think they have some share in the direction; and when any public measures are generally grievous or even distasteful, to the people, the wheels of government move more heavily.

“ the defence of the whole, erect Forts where they judged proper,
 “ and raise what troops they thought necessary, with power to
 “ draw on the treasury here for the sums that should be wanted,
 “ and the treasury to be reimbursed by a *tax laid on the colonies*
 “ *by act of parliament.*”—This *New plan* being communicated by
 “ Governor Shirley to a gentleman of Philadelphia, (Dr. Franklin)
 “ then in Boston (who hath very eminently distinguished himself,
 “ before and since that time, in the literary world, and whose
 “ judgment, penetration and candor, as well as his readiness and
 “ ability to suggest, forward, or carry into execution, every
 “ scheme of public utility, hath most deservedly endeared him, not
 “ only to our fellow-subjects throughout the continent of North
 “ America, but to his numberless friends on this side the Atlantic)
 “ occasioned the following remarks from him, which perhaps
 “ may contribute in some degree to its being laid aside. As they
 “ very particularly shew the then sentiments of the Americans
 “ on the subject of a parliamentary tax, *before the French power*
 “ in that country was subjected, and *before* the late restraints on
 “ their commerce; they satisfy me, and I hope they will convince
 “ your readers (contrary to what has been advanced by some of
 “ your correspondents) that those particulars have had no share
 “ in producing the present opposition to such a tax, nor in disur-
 “ hances occasioned by it, which these papers indeed do almost
 “ prophetically foretel. For this purpose, having accidentally
 “ fallen into my hands, they are communicated to you by one who
 “ is, not partially, but in the *most enlarged sense*,

‘ A LOVER OF BRITAIN.’ E.]

R

II. LET.

II. LETTER to the same; concerning direct Taxes
in the Colonies imposed without Consent, indirect
Taxes, and the Albany Plan of Union.

SIR,

Wednesday Morning.

I Mentioned it yesterday to your Excellency as my opinion, that excluding the *people* of the colonies from all share in the choice of the grand council, would probably give extreme dissatisfaction, as well as the taxing them by act of parliament, where they have no representation. In matters of general concern to the people, and especially where burdens are to be laid upon them; it is of use to consider, as well what they will be apt to think and say, as what they ought to think: I shall therefore, as your Excellency requires it of me, briefly mention what of either kind occurs to me on this occasion.

First, they will say, and perhaps with justice, that the body of the people in the colonies are as loyal, and as firmly attached to the present constitution, and reigning family, as any subjects in the King's dominions.

That there is no reason to doubt the readiness and willingness of the representatives they may choose, to grant from time to time such supplies for the defence of the country, as shall be judged necessary, so far as their abilities will allow.

That the people in the colonies, who are to feel the immediate mischiefs of invasion and conquest

quest by an enemy, in the loss of their estates, lives, and liberties; are likely to be better judges of the quantity of forces necessary to be raised and maintained, forts to be built and supported, and of their own abilities to bear the expence; than the parliament of England, at so great a distance.

That governors often come to the colonies merely to make fortunes, with which they intend to return to Britain; are not always men of the best abilities or integrity; have many of them no estates here, nor any natural connections with us, that should make them heartily concerned for our welfare; and might possibly be fond of raising and keeping up more forces than necessary, from the profits accruing to themselves, and to make provision for their friends and dependents.

That the counsellors in most of the colonies, being appointed by the crown, on the recommendation of governors, are often persons of small estates, frequently dependent on the governors for offices, and therefore too much under influence.

That there is therefore great reason to be jealous of a power in such governors and councils, to raise such sums as they shall judge necessary by drafts on the Lords of the Treasury, to be afterwards laid on the colonies by act of parliament, and paid by the people here; since they might abuse it, by projecting useless expeditions, harassing the people, and taking them from their labour to execute such projects, merely to create offices and employments, and gratify their dependents, and divide profits.

That the parliament of England is at a great distance, subject to be misinformed and misled by such governors and councils, whose united interests might probably secure them against the effect of any complaint from hence.

That it is supposed an undoubted right of *Englishmen*, not to be taxed but by their own consent, given through their representatives :

That the colonies have no representatives in parliament.

That to propose taxing them by parliament, and refuse them the liberty of choosing a representative council, to meet in the colonies, and consider and judge of the necessity of any general tax, and the quantum ; shews a suspicion of their loyalty to the crown, or of their regard for their country, or of their common sense and understanding ; which they have not deserved.

That compelling the colonies to pay money without their consent, would be rather like raising contributions in an enemy's country, than taxing of *Englishmen* for their own public benefit.

That it would be treating them as a conquered people, and not as true British subjects.

That a tax laid by the representatives of the colonies might be easily lessened as the occasions should lessen ; but, being once laid by parliament under the influence of the representations made by governors, would probably be kept up, and continued for the benefit of governors ; to the grievous burthen and discontentment of the colonies,

colonies, and prevention of their growth and increase.

That a power in governors to march the inhabitants from one end of the *British* and *French* colonies to the other, being a country of at least one thousand five hundred miles long, without the approbation or the consent of their representatives first obtained to such expeditions; might be grievous and ruinous to the people; and would put them upon a footing with the subjects of *France* in *Canada*, that now groan under such oppression from their governor, who for two years past has harassed them with long and destructive marches to the Ohio*.

That if the colonies in a body may be well-governed by governors and councils appointed by the crown, without representatives; particular colonies may as well, or better be so governed; a tax may be laid upon them all by act of parliament for support of government; and their assemblies may be dismissed as an useless part of the constitution.

That the powers proposed by the Albany plan of union, to be vested in a grand council representative of the people, even with regard to military matters, are not so great as those which the colonies of *Rhode Island* and *Connecticut* are entrusted with by their charters, and have never abused; for by this plan the President General is appointed by the crown, and controls all by his negative;

* [The *French* translator has omitted that part of this paragraph, which relates to the *Canadians* when subject to *France*. E.] but

but in those governments the people choose the governor, and yet allow him no negative.

That the *British colonies* bordering on the French are properly frontiers of the *British* empire; and the frontiers of an empire are properly defended at the joint expence of the body of the people in such empire;—it would now be thought hard by act of parliament to oblige the Cinque ports or sea coasts of *Britain*, to maintain the whole navy, because they are more immediately defended by it, not allowing them at the same time a vote in choosing members of the parliament; and, as the frontiers of America bear the expence of their own defence, it seems hard to allow them no share in voting the money, judging of the necessity and sum, or advising the measures.

That besides the taxes necessary for the defence of the frontiers, the colonies pay yearly great sums to the mother-country unnoticed:—for 1. Taxes paid in Britain by the landholder or artificer, must enter into and increase the price of the produce of land and manufactures made of it; and great part of this is paid by consumers in the colonies, who thereby pay a considerable part of the *British* taxes.

2. We are restrained in our trade with foreign nations; and where we could be supplied with any manufacture cheaper from them, but must buy the same dearer from Britain, the difference of price is a clear tax to *Britain*.

3. We are obliged to carry a great part of our produce directly to Britain; and where the duties laid

laid upon it lessen its price to the planter, or it sells for less than it would in foreign markets, the difference is a tax paid to *Britain*.

4. Some manufactures we could make, but are forbidden, and must take them of British merchants: the whole price is a tax paid to *Britain*.

5. By our greatly encreasing the demand and consumption of British manufactures, their price is considerably raised of late years; the advantage is clear profit to Britain, and enables its people better to pay great taxes; and much of it being paid by us, is clear tax to *Britain*.

6. In short, as we are not suffered to regulate our trade, and restrain the importation and consumption of British superfluities (as *Britain* can the consumption of foreign superfluities) our whole wealth centers finally amongst the merchants and inhabitants of *Britain*; and if we make them richer, and enable them better to pay their taxes, it is nearly the same as being taxed ourselves, and equally beneficial to the crown.

These kind of secondary taxes, however, we do not complain of, though we have no share in the laying or disposing of them: But to pay immediate heavy taxes, in the laying, appropriation, and disposition of which, we have no part, and which perhaps we may know to be as unnecessary as grievous; must seem hard treasure to *Englishmen*; who cannot conceive that, by hazarding their lives and fortunes in subduing and settling new countries, extending the dominion, and increasing the commerce of the mother-nation, they have forfeited

feited the native right of *Britons*; which they think ought rather to be given to them, as due to such merit, if they had been before in a state of slavery. — —

These, and such kind of things as these I apprehend, will be thought and said by the people, if the proposed alteration of the Albany plan should take place. Then the administration of the board of governors and council so appointed, not having the representative body of the people to approve and unite in its measures, and conciliate the minds of the people to them, will probably become suspected and odious; dangerous animosities and feuds will arise between the governors and governed; and every thing go into confusion.

Perhaps I am too apprehensive in this matter; but having freely given my opinion and reasons, your Excellency can judge better than I, whether there be any weight in them; and the shortness of the time allowed me, will I hope in some degree excuse the imperfections of this scrawl.

With the greatest respect and fidelity, I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

III. **LETTER to the same, on the Subject of uniting the colonies more intimately with Great Britain, by allowing them representatives in parliament.**

SIR,

Boston, Dec. 22, 1754.

SINCE the conversation your Excellency was pleased to honour me with, on the subject of *Uniting the colonies more intimately with Great Britain, by allowing them representatives in parliament*, I have something further considered that matter; and am of opinion, that such an union would be very acceptable to the colonies; provided they had a reasonable number of representatives allowed them; and that all the old acts of parliament restraining the trade or cramping the manufactures of the colonies, be at the same time repealed, and the *British* subjects on *this side the water*, put, in those respects, on the same footing with those in *Great Britain*, till the new parliament, representing the whole, shall think it for the interest of the whole to re-enact some or all of them: it is not that I imagine so many representatives will be allowed the colonies, as to have any great weight by their numbers; but I think there might be sufficient, to occasion those laws to be better and more impartially considered, and perhaps to overcome the interest of a petty corporation, or of any particular set

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S of

of artificers or traders in *England*, who heretofore seem, in some instances, to have been more regarded than all the colonies, or than was consistent with the general interest, or best national good. I think too that the government of the colonies, by a parliament, in which they are fairly represented, would be vastly more agreeable to the people, than the method lately attempted to be introduced by royal instruction; as well as more agreeable to the nature of an *English* constitution, and to *English* liberty; and that such laws as now seem to bear hard on the colonies, would (when judged by such a parliament for the best interest of the whole) be more cheerfully submitted to; and more easily executed.

I should hope too, that by such a union, the people of Great Britain, and the people of the colonies, would learn to consider themselves, as not belonging to different communities with different interests, but to one community with one interest; which I imagine would contribute to strengthen the whole, and greatly lessen the danger of future separations.

It is, I suppose, agreed to be the general interest of any state, that its people be numerous and rich; men know to fight in its defence; and know to pay sufficient taxes to defray the charge; for these circumstances tend to the security of the state, and its protection from foreign power. But it seems not of so much importance whether the fighting be done by John or Thomas, or the tax paid by William or Charles. The iron manufac-

facture employs and enriches *British* subjects, but
 is it of any importance to the state, whether the
 manufacturer lives at Birmingham or Sheffield,
 or both; since they are still within its bounds,
 and their wealth and persons still at its com-
 mand? Could the *Goodwin Sands* be laid dry
 by banks, and land equal to a large country
 thereby gained to England, and presently filled
 with English inhabitants; would it be right to
 deprive such inhabitants of the common privi-
 leges enjoyed by other Englishmen; the right of
 vending their produce in the same ports, or of
 making their own shoes; because a merchant or
 a shoemaker, living on the old land, might fan-
 cy it more for his advantage to trade or make
 shoes for them? Would this be right, even if
 the land were gained at the expence of the state?
 And would it not seem less right, if the charge
 and labour of gaining the additional territory to
 Britain had been borne by the settlers them-
 selves? and would not the hardship appear yet
 greater, if the people of the new country should
 be allowed no representatives in parliament en-
 acting such impositions? Now I look on the co-
 lonies as ~~as many countries~~ *gained to Great Bri-*
tain; and more advantageous to it, than if they
 had been gained out of the sea around our coasts,
 and ~~joined to this land~~, for being in different
 climates, they afford greater variety of produce,
 and materials for more manufactures; and being
 separated by the ocean, they increase much more
 its shipping and seamen: and, since they are

all included in the British empire, which has only extended itself by their means; and the strength and wealth of the parts is the strength and wealth of the whole; what imports it to the general state, whether a merchant, a smith, or a hatter, grow rich in *Old* or *New England*? and if through increase of people, two smiths are wanted for one employed before, why may not the *new* smith be allowed to live and thrive in the *new* country, as well as the *old* one in the *old*? In fine, why should the countenance of a state be *partially* afforded to its people, unless it be most in favour of those who have most merit? and, if there be any difference, those who have most contributed to enlarge *Britain's* empire and commerce, increase her strength, her wealth, and the numbers of her people, at the risk of their own lives and private fortunes, in new and strange countries, methinks ought rather to expect some preference. With the greatest respect and esteem, I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's most obedient,

and humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

PLAN for settling two Western Colonies in North America, with Reasons for the Plan, 1754*.

THE great country back of the *Apalachian* mountains, on both sides the *Ohio*, and between that river and the lakes; is now well known both to the English and French, to be one of the finest

[For the occasion which produced this plan, see what follows. I apprehend it was given to Governor *Pownall*, 1754, for the purpose of being inserted in his memorial; but this point of anecdote I cannot sufficiently ascertain.

Extract of a Memorial drawn up by Order of, and presented to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, 1756, by T. Pownall.

In other parts of our frontier, that are not the immediate residence and country of *Indians*, some other species of barriers should be thought of, of which nothing can be more effectual than a barrier colony: but even this cannot be carried into execution and effect, without the previous measure of *emigrants* in the country between us and the enemy All mankind must know that no body of men, whether as an army, or as an emigration of colonists, can march from one country to another, through an inhospitable wilderness, without magazines; nor with any safety, without posts communicating among each other by practicable roads, to which to retire in case of accidents, repulse, or delay.

It is a fact which experience evinces the truth of, that we have always been able to outstep the *French*; and have driven the *Indians* out of the country more by settling than fighting; and that whenever our settlements have been wisely and completely made, the *French* neither by themselves, nor their dogs of war, the *Indians*, have been able to remove us. It is upon this fact I found the propriety of the measure of settling a barrier colony in those parts of our frontier, which are not the immediate residence

finest in *North America*, for the extreme richness and fertility of the land; the healthy temperature of the air, and mildness of the climate; the plenty

of *salines* or *hunting-grounds* of our Indians. This is a measure that will be effectual; and will not only in time pay its expence, but make as great returns as any of our present colonies do; will give a strength and unity to our dominions in *North America*; and give us *possession* of the country, as well as *settlements* in it. But above all this, the state and circumstances of our settlements, render such a measure not only proper and eligible, but absolutely necessary. The *English* settlements, as they are at present circumstanced, are absolutely at a stand; they are settled up to the mountains; and in the mountains there is no where together land sufficient for a settlement large enough to subsist by itself, and to defend itself, and preserve a communication with the present settlements.

If the *English* would advance one step further, or cover themselves where they are, it must be at once, by one large step over the mountains, with a numerous and military colony. Where such should be settled, I do not take-upon me to say: at present I shall only point out the measure and the nature of it, by inventing two schemes, one of Mr. *Franklin's*; the other of your memorialist; and if I might indulge myself with scheming, I should imagine that two such were sufficient, and only requisite and proper: one at the back of *Virginia*, filling up the vacant space between the five nations and southern *conederates*; and connecting, into one system, our barrier, the other somewhere in the *Choptank* or *Connecticut* river, or wherever best adapted to cover the *New England* colonies. These, with the little settlements mentioned above in the *Indian* countries, complete any idea of this branch. See *Gouverneur Pownall's Administration of the Colonies*. Vol. II. p. 228—231. 5th Edition.

The reader must carry along with him a distinction between the plans of Dr. *Franklin* and Governor *Pownall* here referred to. The first, (which is before him) is particular, and proposes a plan for two settlements in the unlocated lands to the westward of *Delaware* and the *Virginia* mountains, and is totally silent with respect to a settlement in *New England*; the other treats of the mode of settling new colonies in *North America* in general, leaving the precise situation to be in some measure pointed-out by the foregoing extract.

The copy from which this paper is printed, has passages, as is being rather inaccurately taken from the original.

of hunting, fishing, and fowling; the facility of trade with the Indians; and the vast convenience of inland navigation or water-carriage by the lakes and great rivers, many hundred of leagues around.

From these natural advantages it must undoubtedly (perhaps, in less than another century) become a populous and powerful dominion; and a great accession of power, either to England or France.

The French are now making open encroachments on these territories, in defiance of our known rights; and, if we longer delay to settle that country, and suffer them to possess it, these inconveniences and mischiefs will probably follow:

1. Our people, being confined to the country between the sea and the mountains, cannot much more increase in number; people increasing in proportion to their room and means of subsistence. (See the Observations on the Increase of Mankind, Sec. 1. 1.)

2. The French will increase much more, by that acquired room and plenty of subsistence, and become a great people behind us.

3. Many of our debtors, and loose English people, our German servants, and slaves, will probably desert to them; and increase their numbers and strength, to the lessening and weakening of ours.

4. They will cut us off from all commerce and alliance with the western Indians, to the great prejudice

prejudice of Britain, by preventing the sale and consumption of its manufactures.

5. They will both in time of peace and war (as they have always done against *New England*) set the Indians on to harass our frontiers, kill and scalp our people, and drive in the advanced settlers; and so, in preventing our obtaining more subsistence by cultivating of new lands, they discourage our marriages, and keep our people from increasing; thus (if the expression may be allowed) killing thousands of our children before they are born. — — —

If two strong colonies of *English* were settled between the Ohio and lake Erie, in the places hereafter to be mentioned, — these *advantages* might be expected:

1. They would be a great security to the frontiers of our other colonies; by preventing the incursions of the French and French Indians of Canada, on the back parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas; and the frontiers of such new colonies would be much more easily defended, than those of the colonies last mentioned now can be, as will appear hereafter.

2. The dreaded junction of the French settlements in *Canada*, with those of *Louisiana* would be prevented.

3. In case of a war, it would be easy, from those new colonies, to annoy *Louisiana* by going down the Ohio and Mississippi; and the southern

part

part of *Canada* by sailing over the lakes; and thereby confine the French within narrower limits.

4. We should secure the friendship and trade of the *Miamis* or *Twigawes*, (a numerous people, consisting of many tribes, inhabiting the country between the west end of lake Erie, and the south end of lake Hurons, and the Ohio;) who are at present dissatisfied with the French, and fond of the English, and would gladly encourage and protect an infant English settlement in or near their country, as some of their chiefs have declared to the writer of this memoir. Further, by means of the lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, our trade might be extended through a vast country, among many numerous and distant nations, greatly to the benefit of Britain.

5. The settlement of all the intermediate lands, between the present frontiers of our colonies on one side, and the lakes and Mississippi on the other; would be facilitated and speedily executed, to the great increase of *Englishmen*, *English* trade, and *English* power.

The grants to most of the colonies, are of long narrow slips of land, extending west from the Atlantic to the South Sea. They are much too long for their breadth; the extremes at too great a distance; and therefore unfit to be continued under their present dimensions.

Several of the old colonies may conveniently be limited westward by the Allegeny or Apalachian mountains; and new colonies formed west of those mountains. T A fin-

A single old colony does not seem strong enough to extend itself otherwise than inch by inch: it cannot venture a settlement far distant from the main body, being unable to support it: But if the colonies were united under one governor, general and grand council, agreeable to the *Albany Plan*, they might easily, by their joint force, establish one or more new colonies, whenever they should judge it necessary or advantageous to the interests of the whole.

But if such union should not take place, it is proposed, that two charters be granted; *each* for some considerable part of the lands west of Pennsylvania and the Virginian mountains, to a number of the nobility and gentry of *Britain*; with such *Americans* as shall join them in contributing to the settlement of those lands; either by paying a proportion of the expence of making such settlements, or by actually going thither in person, and settling themselves and families.

That by such charters it be granted, that every actual settler be intitled to a tract of 500 acres for himself, and 500 acres for every poll in the family he carries with him; and that every contributor of 500 guineas be intitled to a quantity of acres, equal to the share of a single settler, for every such sum of 500 guineas contributed and paid to the colony; *treasurers*; a contributor for 500 shares to have an additional share *gratis*; that settlers may likewise be contributors, and have right of land in both capacities.

That

That as many and as great privileges and powers of government, be granted to the contributors and settlers, as his Majesty in his wisdom shall think most fit for their benefit and encouragement; consistent with the general good of the *British* empire; for extraordinary privileges and liberties, with lands on easy terms, are strong inducements to people to hazard their persons and fortunes in settling new countries; and such powers of government as (though suitable and much to the circumstances, and fit to be trusted with an infant colony) might be judged unfit when it becomes populous, and powerful; these might be granted for a term only; as the choice of their own governor, for ninety-nine years;—the support of government in the [colonies] of Connecticut and Rhode Island, (which *now* enjoy that and other like privileges) being much less expensive, than in the colonies under the immediate government of the crown, and the constitution more inviolable.

That the first contributors to the amount of *ten* guineas be empowered to choose a treasurer to receive the contribution.

That no contributions be paid till the sum of *three* hundred guineas be subscribed.

That the money thus raised, be applied to the purchase of the lands, *from* the six Nations and other Indians, and of provisions, stores, arms, ammunition, carriages, &c. for the settlers; who after having entered their names with the treasurer, or person by him appointed to receive and

enter them, are, upon public notice given for that purpose, to rendezvous at a place to be appointed, and march in a body to the place destined for their settlement, under the [charge] of the government to be established over them. Such rendezvous and march however not to be directed, till the number of names of settlers entered, capable of bearing arms, amount at least to a thousand. — — —

It is apprehended, that a great sum of money might be raised in *America* on such a scheme as this; for there are many who would be glad of any opportunity, by advancing a small sum at present, to secure land for their children, which might in a few years become very valuable; and a great number it is thought of actual settlers, might likewise be engaged, (some from each of our present colonies) sufficient to carry it into full execution by their strength and numbers; provided only that the crown would be at the expence of removing the little forts the French have erected in their incroachments on his Majesty's territories, and supporting a strong one near the falls of Niagara, with a few small armed vessels, or half-gallies to cruize on the lakes. * * * *

— — —
For the security of this colony in its infancy, a small fort might be erected and for some time maintained at *Buffalonia on the Ohio*, above the settlement; and another at the mouth of the *Hicoga*, on the south side of *lake Erie*, where a

port should be formed, and a town erected, for the trade of the lakes.—The colonists for *this settlement* might march by land through Pennsylvania. — — —

The river *Siouha*, which runs into the Ohio about two hundred miles below Logs Town, is supposed the fittest seat for the *other colony*; there being for forty miles on each side of it and quite up to its heads, a body of all rich land; the finest spot of its bigness in all North America, and has the particular advantage of sea-coal in plenty (even above ground in two places) for fuel, when the woods shall be destroyed. This colony would have the trade of the Miamis or Twigtwees; and should, at first, have a small fort near Hocktokin, at the head of the river; and another near the mouth of Wabash. Sandoski, a French fort near the lake Eric, should also be taken; and all the little French forts south and west of the lakes, quite to the Mississippi, be removed, or taken and garrisoned by the English.—The colonists for this settlement might assemble near the heads of the rivers in Virginia, and march over land to the navigable branches of the Kanhawa, where they might embark with all their baggage and provisions, and fall into the Ohio, not far above the mouth of Siouha. Or they might rendezvous at Will's Creek, and go down the Mohingahela to the Ohio. The fort and armed vessels at the strait of Niagara would be a vast security to the frontiers of these new colonies against any attempts of the French

French from Canada. The fort at the mouth of the Wabash, would guard that river, the Ohio, and Cutava river, in case of any attempt from the French of Mississippi. (Every fort should have a small settlement round it; as the fort would protect the settlers, and the settlers defend the fort.) — — —

The difficulty of settling the first *English* colonies in America, at so great a distance from England; must have been vastly greater than the settling these proposed new colonies; for it would be the interest and advantage of all the present colonies to support these new ones; as they would cover their frontiers, and prevent the growth of the French power behind or near their present settlements; and the new country is nearly at equal distance from all the old colonies; and could easily be assisted from all of them.

And as there are already in the old colonies, many thousands of families that are ready to swarm, wanting more land; the richness and natural advantage of the Ohio country would draw most of them thither, were there but a tolerable prospect of a safe settlement. So that the new colonies would soon be full of people; and from the advantage of their situation, become much more terrible to the French settlements, than these are now to us. The gaining of the back Indian trade from the French, by the navigation of the lakes, &c. would of itself greatly weaken our enemies. — it being now their principal support, it seems highly probable

probable that in time they must be subjected to the British crown, or driven out of the country.

Such settlements may better be made now, than fifty years hence, because it is easier to settle ourselves, and thereby prevent the French settling there, as they seem now to intend, than to remove them when strongly settled.

If these settlements are proposed, then more forts and stronger, and more numerous and expensive garrisons must be established, to secure the country, prevent their settling, and secure our present frontiers; the charge of which, may probably exceed the charge of the proposed settlements, and the advantage nothing near so great.

The fort at Oswego should likewise be strengthened, and some armed half-gallies or other small vessels kept there to cruise on Lake Ontario, as proposed by Mr. Pennell in his paper laid before the commissioners at the Albany treaty.

If a fort was also built at Ticonderog on Lake Ontario, and a settlement made there near the lake side, where the lands are said to be good, (much better than at Oswego;) the people of such settlements would help to defend both forts on any emergency.

† [See his Work above quoted, Vol. II. p. 234. et seq. et seq. p. 179. et seq. E.]

‡ [This whole proposal was neglected, though the French thought a considerable settlement very practicable, in order to get at the Ohio. See Governor Pennell. Vol. II. p. 236.

Dr. Franklin also failed in another proposal for sitting to the East of the Ohio. E.]

*The Interest of Great Britain considered, with regard
to her Colonies, and the Acquisitions of
Canada and Guadaloupe.**

I Have perused with no small pleasure the *Letter*
addressed to Two Great Men, and the *Re-*

* [In the year 1760, upon the prospect of a peace with France, the late Earl of Bath addressed a *Letter to two great men*, (Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle,) on the terms necessary to be insisted upon in the negotiation. He preferred the acquisition of Canada, to acquisitions in the West Indies.—In the same year there appeared *Remarks* on the letter addressed to two great men, containing opposite opinions on this and other subjects.—At this moment a philosopher stepped into the controversy, and wrote a pamphlet entitled, *The Interest of Great Britain considered, with regard to her Colonies, &c.* The arguments he used, appear to have carried weight with them at the courts of London and Paris, for Canada was kept by the peace.

The Editor thinks it necessary to add the following further explanations.—The above piece (which first came to his hands in the shape of a manuscript, printed for Baskett 1761, 2d edit.) has none of the eight subdivisions it is now thrown into, marked out by the author. He conceived however that they might be useful, and has taken the liberty of making them, but guards it with this apology.—The Italics of the original, are not accurately adhered to. It was impossible for him however to alter *any word* in the sense, style, or disposition, of his author: *That* was a liberty for which he could make *no* apology.

In the original, the author has added his observations concerning the *facile de mankind*; peopling of countries, &c. (printed in the beginning of this work); and introduced it with the following note.
“ confirmation of the writer’s opinion concerning population,
“ manufactures, &c. he has thought it not amiss to add an extract
“ from a piece written some years since in America, where the facts
“ must be well known, on which the reasonings are founded. It
“ is entitled, *Observations, &c.*”

With respect to the arguments used by the authors of the *Letter*, and of the *Remarks*, it is useless to repeat them here. As far as they are necessary for the understanding of Dr. Franklin, they are to be collected from his own work. E.]

marks

marks on that Letter. It is not merely from the beauty, the force and perspicuity of expression, or the general elegance of manner conspicuous in both pamphlets, that my pleasure chiefly arises; it is rather from this, that I have lived to see subjects of the greatest importance to this nation publicly discussed without party views, or party heat, with decency and politeness, and with no other warmth than what a zeal for the honour and happiness of our king and country may inspire;—and this by writers whose understanding (however they may differ from each other) appears not unequal to their candour and the uprightness of their intention.

But, as great abilities have not always the best information, there are, I apprehend, in the Remarks, some opinions not well founded, and some mistakes of so important a nature, as to render a few observations on them necessary for the better information of the public.

The author of the Letter, who must be every way best able to support his own sentiments, will, I hope, excuse me, if I seem officiously to interfere, when he considers, that the spirit of party, like other qualities good and bad, is catching; and that his long silence since the Remarks appeared has made us despair of seeing the subject further discussed by his masterly hand. The ingenious and candid Remarker, too, who must have been misled himself before he employed his skill and address to mislead others; will certainly, since he

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declares

declared he aims at no *seduction**, be disposed to excuse even the weakest effort to prevent it.

And surely if the general opinions that possess the minds of the people may possibly be of consequence in public affairs, it must be fit to set those opinions right. If there is danger, as the Remarker supposes, that "extravagant expectations" may embarrass "a virtuous and able ministry," and "render the negotiation for peace a work of infinite difficulty †;" there is no less danger that expectations too low, through want of proper information, may have a contrary effect; may make even a virtuous and able ministry less anxious, and less attentive to the obtaining points, in which the honour and interest of the nation are essentially concerned; and the people less hearty in supporting such a ministry and its measures.

The people of this nation are indeed respectable, not for their numbers only, but for their understanding and their public spirit: they manifest the first, by their universal approbation of the late prudent and vigorous measures, and the confidence they so justly repose in a wise and good prince, and an honest and able administration; the latter they have demonstrated by the immense supplies granted in parliament unanimously, and paid through the whole kingdom with cheerfulness. And since to this spirit and these supplies, our "victories and successes ‡" have in great measure been owing; is it quite right, is it generous to

* *Remarks*, p. 6.

† *Ibid.* p. 7.

‡ *Ibid.*

say,

say, with the Remarker, that the people "had no share in acquiring them?" The mere mob he cannot mean, even where he speaks of the madness of the people; for the madness of the mob must be too feeble and impotent, armed as the government of this country at present is, to "over-rule," even in the slightest instances, the virtue "and moderation" of a firm and steady ministry.

While the war continues, its final event is quite uncertain. The Victorious of this year may be the Vanquished of the next. It may therefore be too early to say, what advantages we ought absolutely to insist on, and make the *sine quibus non* of a peace. If the necessity of our affairs should oblige us to accept of terms less advantageous than our present successes seem to promise us; an intelligent people, as ours is, must see that necessity, and will acquiesce. But as a peace, when it is made, may be made hastily; and as the unhappy continuance of the war affords us time to consider, among several advantages gained or to be gained, which of them may be most for our interest to retain, if some and not all may possibly be retained; I do not blame the public disquisition of these points, as premature or useless. Light often arises from a collision of opinions, as fire from flint and steel; and if we can obtain the benefit of the *light*, without danger from the *heat* sometimes produced by controversy, why should we discourage it?

Supposing then, that heaven may still continue to bless his Majesty's arms, and that the event of

this just war, may put it in our power to retain some of our conquests at the making of a peace; let us consider,

1. [The security of a dominion, a justifiable and prudent ground upon which to demand cessions from an enemy.]

Whether we are to confine ourselves to those possessions only that were "*the objects for which we began the war*." This the Remarker seems to think right, when the question relates to "*Canada, properly so called*"; it having never been mentioned as one of those objects, in any of our memorials or declarations, or in any national or public act whatsoever. But the gentleman himself will probably agree, that if the Cession of Canada would be a real advantage to us; we may demand it under his second head, as an "*indemnification for the charges incurred*" in recovering our just rights; otherwise, according to his own principles, the demand of *Guadaloupe* can have no foundation.—That "*our claims before the war were large enough for possession and for security too*," though it seems a clear point with the ingenuous Remarker, is, I own, not so with me. I am rather of the contrary opinion, and shall presently give my reasons.—

But first let me observe, that we did not make those claims because they were large enough for security, but because we could rightfully claim

no more. Advantages gained in the course of this war, may increase the extent of our rights. Our claims before the war contained *some* security; but that is no reason why we should neglect acquiring *more*, when the demand of more is become reasonable. ¹⁰ It may be reasonable in the case of America to ask for the security recommended by the author of the *Letter* II. though it would be preposterous to do it in many other cases. His proposed demand is founded on the little value of Canada to the French; the right we have to ask, and the power we may have to insist on an indemnification for our expences; the difficulty the French themselves will be under of restraining their restless subjects in America from encroaching on our limits and disturbing our trade; and the difficulty on our parts of preventing encroachments, that may possibly exist many years without coming to our knowledge.

But the Remarker does not see why the arguments employed concerning a security for so a peaceable behaviour in *Canada*, would not be equally cogent for calling for the same security in *Europe*. On a little farther reflection, he must I think be sensible, that the circumstances of the two cases are widely different.—Here we are separated by the best and clearest of boundaries, the ocean; and we have people in or near every part of our territory. Any

Page 30. of the Letter, and p. 21. of the Remarks.

Remarks, p. 21.

attempt

attempt to encroach upon us, by building a fort even in the obscurest corner of these islands, must therefore be known and prevented immediately. The aggressors also must be known, and the nation they belong to would be accountable for their aggression. — In *America* it is quite otherwise. A vast wilderness, thinly or scarce at all peopled, conceals with ease the march of troops and workmen. Important passes may be seized within our limits, and forts built in a month, at a small expence, that may cost us an age, and a million to remove. Dear experience has taught us this. But what is still *worse*, the wide extended forests between our settlements and theirs, are inhabited by barbarous tribes of savages that delight in war, and take pride in murder; subjects properly neither of the French nor English, but strongly attached to the former by the art and indefatigable industry of priests, simularity of superstitions, and frequent family alliances. These are easily, and have been continually, instigated to fall upon and massacre our planters, even in times of full peace between the two crowns; to the certain diminution of our people and the contraction of our settlements*. And though it is known they are

supplied

* A very intelligent writer of that country, Dr. Vassé in his Observations on the late and present Conduct of the French, &c. printed at Boston 1755, says, *that views used to sit down*

• The Indians in the French interest are, upon all proper opportunities, *instigated by their priests*, (who have generally the chief management of their public councils,) to acts of hostility against the English, even in time of profound peace between the two crowns.

supplied by the French and carry their prisoners to them, we can by complaining obtain no redress; as the governors of Canada have a ready excuse, that the Indians are an independent people, over whom they have no power, and for whose actions they are therefore not accountable.

Surely circumstances so widely different, may reasonably authorise different demands of security in America, from such as are usual or necessary in Europe.

Of this there are many undeniable instances: The war between the Indians and the colonies of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, in 1723, by which those colonies suffered so much damage, was begun by the instigation of the French; their supplies were from them; and these are now original letters of several Jesuits to be produced, whereby it evidently appears, that they were continually animating the Indians, when almost tired with the war, to a farther prosecution of it. The French not only excited the Indians, and supported them, but joined their own forces with them in all the late hostilities that have been committed within his Majesty's province of Nova Scotia. And from an intercepted letter this year from the Jesuit at Penobscot, and from other information, it is certain that they have been using their utmost endeavours to excite the Indians to new acts of hostility against his Majesty's colony of the Massachusetts Bay; and some have been committed. — The French set only on fire the Indians to acts of hostility, but reward them for it, by buying the English prisoners of them: for the ransom of each of which they afterwards demand of us the price that is usually given for a slave in these colonies. They do this under the specious pretence of rescuing the poor prisoners from the cruelties and barbarities of the savages; but in reality to encourage them to continue their depredations, as they can by this means get more by hunting the English, than by hunting wild-beasts; and the French at the same time are thereby enabled to keep up a large body of Indians, entirely at the expense of the English.

The Remarker, however, thinks, that our real dependance for keeping "France or any other, nation true to her engagements, must not be in "demanding securities which no nation whilst "independent can give, but on our own strength "and our own vigilance."—No nation that has carried on a war with disadvantage, and is unable to continue it, can be said, under such circumstances, to be independent; and while either side thinks itself in a condition to demand an indemnification, there is no man in his senses, but will, *ceteris paribus*, prefer an indemnification that is a cheaper and more effectual security than any other he can think of. Nations in this situation demand and cede countries by almost every treaty of peace that is made.—The French part of the island of St. Christopher: was added to Great Britain in circumstances altogether similar to those in which a few months may probably place the country of Canada. Farther security has always been deemed a motive with a conqueror to be less moderate: And even the *vanquished* insist upon security as a reason for demanding what they acknowledge they could not otherwise properly ask. The security of the frontier of France on the side of the Netherlands, was always considered, in the negotiation that began at Gertruydenburgh, and ended with that war. For the same reason they demanded and had *Cape Breton*. But a war concluded to the advantage of France, has always

• Remarks, P. 25.

added

added something to the power, either of France, or the house of Bourbon. Even that of 1733, which she commenced with declarations of her having no ambitious views, and which finished by a treaty at which the ministers of France repeatedly declared that she desired nothing for herself; in effect gained for her *Lorrain*, an indemnification ten times the value of all her North American possessions.—In short, security and quiet of princes and states have ever been deemed sufficient reasons, when supported by power, for disposing of rights; and such disposition has never been looked on as want of moderation. It has always been the foundation of the most general treaties.

—The security of Germany was the argument for yielding considerable possessions there to the *Swedes*: And the security of Europe divided the *Spanish monarchy* by the partition treaty, made between powers who had no *other* right to dispose of any part of it. There can be no cession that is not supposed at least, to increase the power of the party to whom it is made. It is enough that he has a right to ask it, and that he does it not merely to serve the purposes of a dangerous ambition.

Canada in the hands of *Britain*, will endanger the kingdom of *France* as little as any other cession; and from its situation and circumstances cannot be hurtful to any *other* state.—Rather, if peace be an advantage, this cession may be such to *all Europe*. The present war teaches us, that disputes arising in America, may be an occasion of embroiling.

embroiling nations who have no concerns there. If the French remain in Canada and Louifiana, fix the boundaries as you will between us and them, we must border on each other for more than 1500 miles. The people that inhabit the frontiers, are generally the refuse of both nations; often of the worst morals and the least discretion; remote from the eye, the prudence, and the restraint of government. Injuries are therefore frequently, in some part or other of so long a frontier, committed on both sides, resentment provoked, the colonies first engaged, and then the mother countries. And two great nations can scarce be at war in Europe, but some other prince or state thinks it a convenient opportunity to revive some ancient claim, seize some advantage, obtain some territory, or enlarge some power at the expence of a neighbour. The flames of war once kindled, often spread far and wide, and the mischief is infinite.—Happy it proved to both nations, that the Dutch were prevailed on finally to cede the New Netherlands (now the province of *New York*) to us at the peace of 1674; a peace that has ever since continued between us; but must have been frequently disturbed, if they had retained the possession of that country, bordering several hundred miles on our colonies of Pennsylvania westward, Connecticut and the Massachusetts eastward.—Nor is it to be wondered at that people of different language, religion, and manners, should in those remote parts engage in frequent quarrels; when we find, that even the people of our *own colonies* have frequently been so

so exasperated against *each other* in their disputes about boundaries, as to proceed to open violence and bloodshed.

2. [Erecting forts in the back settlements, almost in no instances a sufficient security against the Indians and the French; but the possession of Canada implies every security; and ought to be had, while in our power.]

But the Remarker thinks *we shall be sufficiently secure in America, if we 'raise English forts at such passes as may at once make us respectable to the French and to the Indian nations'**. The security desirable in America, may be considered as of three kinds; 1. A security of possession, that the French shall not drive us out of the country.

2. A security of our planters from the inroads of savages, and the murders committed by them.

3. A security that the British nation shall not be obliged, on every new war, to repeat the immense expence occasioned by this, to defend its possessions in America.—Forts in the most important passes, may, I acknowledge, be of use to obtain the *first* kind of security: but as those situations are far advanced beyond the inhabitants, the expence of maintaining and supplying the garrisons, will be very great even in time of full peace, and immense on every interruption of it; as it is easy for skulking parties of the enemy in such long roads through the woods, to intercept and cut off our convoys, unless guarded continually by great bodies of men.—The *second* kind of security, will not be obtain-

* Remarks, p. 25.

ed by such forts, unless they were connected by a wall like that of China, from one end of our settlements to the other. If the Indians when at war, marched like the Europeans, with great armies, heavy cannon, baggage and carriages; the passes through which alone such armies could penetrate our country or receive their supplies, being secured, all might be sufficiently secure; but the case is widely different. They go to war, as they call it, in small parties; from fifty men down to five. Their hunting life has made them acquainted with the whole country, and scarce any part of it is impracticable to such a party. They can travel through the woods even by night, and know how to conceal their tracks. They pass easily between your forts undiscovered; and privately approach the settlements of your frontier inhabitants. They need no convoys of provisions to follow them; for whether they are shifting from place to place in the woods, or lying in wait for an opportunity to strike a blow, every thicket and every stream furnishes so small a number with sufficient subsistence. When they have surprized separately, and murdered and scalped a dozen families, they are gone with inconceivable expedition through unknown ways; and 'tis very rare that pursuers have any chance of coming up with them *. In short, long experience

has

* Although the Indians live scattered, as a hunter's life requires, they may be collected together from almost any distance; as they can find their subsistence from their gun in their travelling. But let the number of the *Indians* be what it will, they are not formidable merely on account of their numbers; there are many other circumstances

has taught our planters, that they cannot rely upon
 forts as a security against Indians: The inhabitants
 of

circumstances that give them a great advantage over the English.
 The English inhabitants, though numerous, are extended over
 a large tract of land, 500 leagues in length on the sea shore; and
 although some of their trading towns are thick settled, their settlements in the country towns must be at a distance from each other: besides, that in a new country where lands are cheap, people are fond of acquiring large tracts to themselves; and therefore in the out-settlements, they must be more remote: and as the people that move out are generally poor, they sit down either where they can easiest procure land, or soonest raise a subsistence.
 Add to this, that the *English* have fixed settled habitations, the easiest and shortest passages to which the *Indians*, by constantly hunting in the woods, are perfectly well acquainted with; whereas the *English* know little or nothing of the Indian country, nor of the passages through the woods that lead to it. The *Indian* way of making war is by sudden attacks upon exposed places; and as soon as they have done mischief, they retire, and either go home by the same or some different route, as they think safest; or go to some other place at a distance to renew their stroke. If a sufficient party should happily be ready to pursue them, it is a great chance, whether in a country consisting of woods and swamps, which the *English* are not acquainted with, the enemy do not lie in ambush for them in some convenient place, and from thence destroy them. If this should not be the case, but the *English* should pursue them, as soon as they have gained the rivers, by means of their canoes, (to the use of which they are brought up from their infancy) they presently get out of their reach: further, if a body of men were to march into their country, to the places where they are settled, they can, upon the least notice, without great disadvantage, quit their present habitations, and betake themselves to new ones.

Clark's Observations, p. 13.

It has been already remarked, that the tribes of the Indians living upon the lakes and rivers that run upon the back of the *English* settlements in *North America*, are very numerous, and can furnish a great number of fighting men, all perfectly well acquainted with the use of arms as soon as capable of carrying them, as they get the whole of their subsistence from hunting; and that this army, large as it may be, can be maintained by the French without any expence. From their numbers, their situation, and the rivers that run into the *English* settlements, it is easy to conceive

of Hackney might as well rely upon the tower of London to secure them against highwaymen and housebreakers.—As to the *third* kind of security, that we shall not, in a few years, have all we have now done, to do over again in America; and be obliged to employ the same number of troops, and ships, at the same immense expence to defend our possessions there, while we are in proportion weakened here: such forts I think cannot prevent this. During a peace, it is not to be doubted the French, who are adroit at fortifying, will likewise erect forts in the most advantageous places of the country we leave them; which will make it more difficult than ever to be reduced in case of another war. We know by the experience of this war, how extremely difficult it is to march an army through the American woods, with its necessary cannon and

• ceive that they can at any time make an attack upon, and con-
 • stantly annoy as many of the exposed *English* settlements as they
 • please, and those at any distance from each other. The effects
 • of such incursions have been too severely felt by many of the *British*
 • colonies, not to be very well known. The entire breaking up
 • places that had been for a considerable time settled at a great ex-
 • pence, both of labour and money; burning the houses, destroy-
 • ing the stock, killing and making prisoners great numbers of
 • the inhabitants, with all the cruel usage they meet with in their
 • captivity, is only a part of the scene. All other places that are
 • exposed are kept in continual terror; the lands lie waste and un-
 • cultivated, from the danger that attends those that shall presume to
 • work upon them: besides the immense charge the governments
 • must be at in a very ineffectual manner to defend their extended
 • frontiers; and all this from the influence the *French* have had
 • over, but comparatively, a few of the *Indians*.—To the same or
 • greater evils still will every one of the colonies be exposed, when-
 • ever the same influence shall be extended to the whole body of
 • them. Ibid. p. 20.

stores,

stores, sufficient to reduce a very slight fort. The accounts at the treasury will tell you what amazing sums we have necessarily spent in the expeditions against two very trifling forts, Duquesne and Crown Point. While the French retain their influence over the Indians, they can easily keep our long extended frontier in continual alarm, by a very few of those people; and with a small number of regulars and militia, in such a country, we find they can keep an army of ours in full employ for several years. We therefore shall not need to be told by our colonies, that if we leave Canada, however circumscribed, to the French, "we have done nothing *;" we shall soon be made sensible *ourselves* of this truth, and to our cost.

I would not be understood to deny that even if we subdue and retain Canada, *some few forts* may be of use to secure the goods of the traders, and protect the commerce, in case of any sudden misunderstanding with any tribe of Indians: but these forts will be best under the care of the colonies interested in the Indian trade, and garrisoned by their provincial forces, and at their own expence. Their own interest will then induce the American governments to take care of such forts in proportion to their importance; and see that the officers keep their corps full, and mind their duty. But any troops of ours placed there, and accountable here; would, in such remote and obscure places, and at so great a distance from the eye and in-

* Remarks, p. 26.

specification

spection of superiors, soon become of little consequence, even though the French were left in possession of Canada. If the four independent companies, maintained by the Crown in New York more than forty years, at a great expence, consisted, for most part of the time, of faggots chiefly; if their officers enjoyed their places as sine cures, and were only, as a writer * of that country styles them, a kind of military monks; if this was the state of troops posted in a populous country, where the imposition could not be so well concealed; what may we expect will be the case of those that shall be posted two, three, or four hundred miles from the inhabitants, in such obscure and remote places as Crown Point, Oswego, Duquesne, or Niagara? they would scarce be even faggots; they would dwindle to mere names upon paper, and appear no where but upon the muster-rolls.

Now *all the kinds* of security we have mentioned, are obtained by subduing and *retaining Canada*. Our present possessions in America, are secured; our planters will no longer be massacred by the Indians; who depending absolutely on us for what are now become the necessaries of life to them, (guns, powder, hatchets, knives, and clothing) and having no other Europeans near, that can either supply them, or instigate them against us; there is no doubt of their being always disposed, if we treat them with common justice, to live in perpetual peace with us. And with regard to

* Douglass.

France,

France, she cannot, in case of another war, put us to the immense expence of defending that long extended frontier; we shall then, as it were, have our backs against a wall in America; the sea coast will be easily protected by our superior naval power: and here "our own watchfulness and our own strength" will be properly, and cannot but be successfully employed. In this situation, the force now employed in that part of the world, may be spared for any other service here or elsewhere; so that both the offensive and defensive strength of the British empire, on the whole, will be greatly increased.

But to leave the French in possession of Canada *when it is in our power to remove them, and depend*, (as the Remarker proposes,) *on our own "strength"* and watchfulness "to prevent the mischiefs *that may attend it, seems neither safe nor prudent.* Happy as we now are, under the best of kings, and in the prospect of a succession promising every felicity a nation was ever blessed with; happy too in the wisdom and vigour of every part of the administration; we cannot, we ought not to promise ourselves the uninterrupted continuance of those blessings. The safety of a considerable part of the state, and the interest of the whole, are not to be trusted to the wisdom and vigour of *future administrations*; when a security is to be had more effectual, more constant, and much less expensive. They who can be moved by the apprehension of dangers so remote, as that of the future indepen-

dence of our colonies (a point I shall hereafter consider) seem scarcely consistent with themselves, when they suppose we may rely on the wisdom and vigour of an administration for their safety. I should indeed think it less material whether Canada were ceded to us or not, if I had in view only the security of *possession* in our colonies. I entirely agree with the Remarker, that we are in North America "a far greater continental as well as naval power;" and that only cowardice or ignorance can subject our colonies there to a French conquest. But for the same reason I disagree with him widely upon another point.

3. [*The blood and treasure spent in the American wars, not spent in the cause of the colonies alone.*]

I do not think that our "blood and treasure" has been expended, as he intimates, "*in the cause of the colonies*," and that *we* are self-making conquests for *them*." yet I believe this is too common an error. We do not, say they, stand altogether unconcerned in the event. The inhabitants of them are, in common with the other subjects of Great Britain, anxious for the glory of her crown, the extent of her power, and consequently the welfare and future repose of the whole British people. They could not therefore but take a large share in the affronts offered to Britain; and have been animated with a truly British spirit to exert themselves beyond their strength,

* Remarks, p. 26.

and against their evident interest. Yet so unfortunate have they been, that their virtue has made against them; for upon no better foundation than this, have they been supposed the authors of a war, carried on for their advantage only.—It is a great mistake to imagine that the American country in question between Great Britain and France, is claimed as the property of any *individuals or public body in America*; or that the possession of it by Great Britain, is likely, in any lucrative view, to redound at all to the advantage of any person there. On the other hand, the bulk of the inhabitants of North America are *land-owners*; whose lands are inferior in value to those of Britain, only by the want of an equal number of people. It is true, the accession of the large territory claimed before the war began, (especially if that be secured by the possession of Canada,) will tend to the increase of the *British subjects*; faster than if they had been confined within the mountains: yet the increase within the mountains only, would evidently make the *comparative* population equal to that of Great Britain much sooner than it can be expected when our people are spread over a country six times as large. I think this is the only point of light in which this question is to be viewed, and is the only one in which any of the colonies are concerned.—No colony, no possessor of lands in any colony, therefore, wishes for conquests, or can be benefited by them, otherwise than as they may be a means of *securing peace on their borders*. No considerable advantage has resulted to the colonies

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by the conquests of this war, or can result from confirming them by the peace, but what they must enjoy in common with the rest of the British people; with this evident drawback from their share of these advantages, that they will necessarily lessen, or at least prevent the increase of the value of what makes the principal part of their private property [their land].—A people spread through the whole tract of country on this side the Mississippi, and secured by Canada in our hands, would probably for some centuries find employment in agriculture; and thereby free us at home effectually from our fears of American manufactures.—Unprejudiced men well know that all the penal and prohibitory laws that ever were thought on, will not be sufficient to prevent manufactures in a country whose inhabitants surpass the number that can subsist by the husbandry of it. That this will be the case in America soon, if our people remain confined within the mountains, and almost as soon should it be unsafe for them to live beyond, though the country be ceded to us; no man acquainted with political and commercial history can doubt. Manufactures are founded in poverty: It is the multitude of poor without land in a country, and who must work for others at low wages or starve; that enables undertakers to carry on a manufacture, and afford it cheap enough to prevent the importation of the same kind from abroad, and to bear the expence of its own exportation.—But no man who can have a piece of land of his own, sufficient by his labour to subsist his family in plenty, is poor enough

enough to be a manufacturer, and work for a master. Hence, while there is land enough in America for our people, there can never be manufactures to any amount or value. It is a striking observation of a very *able pen* †, that the natural livelihood of the thin inhabitants of a forest country is hunting; that of a greater number, pasturage; that of a middling population, agriculture; and that of the greatest, manufactures; which last must subsist the bulk of the people in a full country, or they must be subsisted by charity, or perish.—The extended population, therefore, that is most advantageous to Great Britain, will be best effected, because only effectually secured, by our possession of Canada.

So far as the *being* of our present colonies in North America is concerned, I think indeed with the Remarker, that the French there are not “*an enemy to be apprehended* *;”—but the expression is too vague to be applicable to the present, or indeed to any other case. Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, unequal as they are to this nation in power and numbers of people, are enemies to be still apprehended; and the Highlanders of Scotland have been so for many ages, by the greatest princes of Scotland and Britain. The wild Irish were able to give a great deal of disturbance even to Queen Elizabeth, and cost her more blood and treasure than her war with Spain.—Canada in the hands of France has always stunted the growth of our co-

† [This I believe is meant for Dr. Adam Smith, who seems not at this time to have printed any of his political pieces. E.]

* Remarks, p. 27.

lonies;

lonies; in the course of this war, and indeed before it, has disturbed and vexed even the best and strongest of them; has found means to murder thousands of their people, and unsettle a great part of their country. Much more able will it be to starve the growth of an infant settlement. Canada has also found means to make this nation spend two or three millions a year in America; and a people, how small soever, that in their present situation, can do this as often as we have a war with them, is methinks, "an enemy to be apprehended."

Our North American colonies are to be considered as the *frontier of the British empire* on that side. The frontier of any dominion being attacked, it becomes not merely "the cause" of the people immediately affected, (the inhabitants of that frontier) but properly "the cause" of the whole body. Where the frontier people owe and pay obedience, there they have a right to look for protection: No political proposition is better established than this. It is therefore invidious to represent the "blood and treasure" spent in this war, as spent in "the cause of the colonies" only; and that they are "absurd and ungrateful" if they think we have done nothing, unless we "make" "conquests for them," and reduce Canada to gratify their "vain ambition," &c. It will not be a conquest for *them*, nor gratify any vain ambition of theirs. It will be a conquest for the *whole*; and all our people will, in the increase of trade, and the ease of taxes, find the advantage of it.—Should we be obliged at any time to make

a war for the protection of our commerce, and to secure the exportation of our manufactures; would it be fair to represent such a war, merely as blood and treasure spent in the cause of the weavers of Yorkshire, Norwich, or the West; the cutlers of Sheffield, or the button-makers of Birmingham? I hope it will appear before I end these sheets, that if ever there was a national war, this is truly such a one: a war in which the interest of the whole nation is directly and fundamentally concerned.—Those who would be thought deeply skilled in human nature, affect to discover self-interested views every where at the bottom of the fairest, the most generous conduct. Suspicions and charges of this kind, meet with ready reception and belief in the minds even of the multitude; and therefore less acuteness and address than the Remarker is possessed of, would be sufficient to persuade the nation generally, that all the zeal and spirit manifested and exerted by the colonies in this war, was only in “their own cause,” to “make conquests for themselves,” to engage us to make more for them, to gratify their own “vain ambition.”

But should they now humbly address the mother country in the terms and the sentiments of the Remarker; return her their grateful acknowledgments for the blood and treasure she had spent in “their cause;” confess that enough had been done “for them;” allow that “English forts raised in proper passes, will, with the wisdom and vigour of her administration” be a sufficient

‘ sufficient future protection; express their desires
‘ that their people may be confined within the
‘ mountains, lest [if] they are suffered to spread
‘ and extend themselves in the fertile and pleasant
‘ country on the other side, they should “increase
‘ infinitely from all causes,” “live wholly on
‘ their own labour” and become independent;
‘ beg therefore that the French may be suffered
‘ to remain in possession of Canada, as their neighbourhood
‘ may be useful to prevent our increase;
‘ and the removing them may “in its consequences
‘ be even dangerous *.”—I say, should
‘ such an address from the colonies make its appearance
‘ here, (though, according to the Remark, it
‘ would be a most just and reasonable one;) would
‘ it not, might it not with more justice be answered;
‘ —We understand you, Gentlemen, perfectly well:
‘ you have only your own interest in view: you
‘ want to have the people confined within your
‘ present limits, that in a few years the lands you
‘ are possessed of may increase tenfold in value! you
‘ want to reduce the price of labour, by increasing
‘ numbers on the same territory, that you may be
‘ able to set up manufactures and vie with your
‘ mother country! you would have your people
‘ kept in a body, that you may be more able to
‘ dispute the commands of the crown, and obtain
‘ an independency. You would have the French
‘ left in Canada, to exercise your military virtue,
‘ and make you a warlike people, that you may
‘ have more confidence to embark in schemes of

* Remarks, p. 50, 51.

[A:B.T.] *War in Amer. not for Colonies alone.* 169

‘ disobedience, and greater ability to support
‘ them ! You have tasted too, the sweets of two
‘ OR THREE MILLIONS Sterling per annum spent
‘ among you by our fleets and forces, and you are
‘ unwilling to be without a pretence for kindling
‘ up another war, and thereby occasioning a re-
‘ petition of the same delightful doses ! But, Gen-
‘ tlemen, allow us to understand *our* interest a
‘ little likewise : we shall remove the French from
‘ Canada, that you may live in peace, and we be
‘ no more drained by your quarrels. You shall
‘ have land enough to cultivate, that you may
‘ have neither necessity nor inclination to go into
‘ manufactures ; and we will manufacture for you,
‘ and govern you.

A reader of the Remarks may be apt to say : if this writer would have us restore Canada, on principles of moderation ; how can we, consistent with those principles, retain *Guadaloupe*, which he represents of so much greater value !—I will endeavour to explain this, because by doing it I shall have an opportunity of shewing the truth and good sense of the answer to the interested application I have just supposed : The author then is only apparently and not really inconsistent with himself.—If we can obtain the credit of moderation by restoring Canada, it is well : but we should, however, restore it at *all events* ; because it would not only be of no use to us ; but “ the possession of it (in his opinion) “ may in its consequences be dangerous *.” As

• Remarks, p. 50, 51.

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how ?

how? Why, plainly, (at length it comes out) if the French are not left there to check the growth of our colonies, "they will extend themselves almost without bounds into the inland parts, and increase infinitely from all causes; becoming a numerous, hardy, independent people; possessed of a strong country, communicating little or not at all with England, living wholly on their own labour, and in process of time knowing little and enquiring little about the mother country." In short, according to this writer, our present colonies are large enough and numerous enough; and the French ought to be left in North America to prevent their increase, *lest* they become not only useless, but dangerous to Britain.—I agree with the Gentleman, that with Canada in our possession, our people in America will increase amazingly. I know, that their common rate of increase, where they are not molested by the enemy, is doubling their numbers every twenty-five years, by natural generation only; exclusive of the accession of foreigners*. I think this increase continuing, would probably in a century more, make the

* The reason of this greater increase in America than in Europe, is, that in old settled countries, all trades, farms, offices, and employments are full; and many people refrain marrying till they see an opening, in which they can settle themselves, with a reasonable prospect of maintaining a family: but in America, it being easy to obtain land, which with moderate labour will afford subsistence and something to spare, people marry more readily and earlier in life, whence arises a numerous offspring and the swift population of those countries. 'Tis a common error that we cannot fill our provinces or increase the number of them, without draining this nation of its people. The increment alone of our present colonies is sufficient for both those purposes. [Written in 1760. E.]

number

number of British subjects on that side the water more numerous than they now are on this; But

4. [Not necessary that the American colonies should cease being useful to the mother country. Their preference over the West Indian colonies stated.]

*I am far from entertaining on that account, any fears of their becoming either useless or dangerous to us; and I look on those fears to be merely imaginary, and without any probable foundation.—*The Remarker is reserved in giving his reasons; as in his opinion this “is not a fit subject for “discussion.”—I shall give mine, because I conceive it a subject necessary to be discussed; and the rather, as those fears, how groundless and chimerical soever, may, by possessing the multitude, possibly induce the ablest ministry to conform to them against their own judgment; and thereby prevent the assuring to the British name and nation a stability and permanency, that no man acquainted with history durst have hoped for till our American possessions opened the pleasing prospect. The Remarker thinks that our people in America, “finding no check from Canada, would “extend themselves almost without bounds into “the inland parts, and increase infinitely from all “causes.” The very reason he assigns for their so extending, and which is indeed the true one, (their being “invited to it by the pleasantness, “fertility and plenty of the country,”) may satisfy us, that this extension will continue to proceed,

ceed, as long as there remains any pleasant fertile country within their reach. And if we even suppose them confined by the waters of the Mississippi westward, and by those of St. Laurence and the lakes to the northward; yet still we shall leave them room enough to increase even in the manner of settling now practised there, till they amount to perhaps a hundred millions of souls. This must take some centuries to fulfil: And in the *mean time*, this nation must necessarily supply them with the manufactures they consume; because the new settlers will be employed in agriculture; and the new settlements will so continually draw off the spare hands from the old, that our present colonies will not, during the period we have mentioned, find themselves in a condition to manufacture even for their own inhabitants, to any considerable degree; much less for those who are settling behind them. —

Thus our trade must, till that country becomes as fully peopled as England, (that is for centuries to come,) be continually increasing, and with it our naval power; because the ocean is between us and them, and our ships and seamen must increase as that trade increases.—The human body and the political differ in this; that the first is limited by nature to a certain stature, which, when attained, it cannot, ordinarily, exceed; the other, by better government and more prudent police, as well as by change of manners and other circumstances, often takes fresh starts of growth, after being long at a stand; and may add tenfold

to the dimensions it had for ages been confined to. The mother being of full stature, is in a few years equalled by a growing daughter: but in the case of a mother country and her colonies, it is quite different. The growth of the children tends to increase the growth of the mother, and so the difference and superiority is longer preserved.— Were the inhabitants of this island limited to their present number by any thing in nature, or by unchangeable circumstances, the equality of population between the two countries might indeed sooner come to pass: but sure experience in those parts of the island where manufactures have been introduced, teaches us; that people increase and multiply in proportion as the means and facility of gaining a livelihood increase; and that this island, if they could be employed, is capable of supporting ten times its present number of people.—In proportion therefore, as the demand increases for the manufactures of Britain, by the increase of people in her colonies, the number of her people at home will increase; and with them, the strength as well as the wealth of the nation. For satisfaction in this point let the reader compare in his mind the number and force of our present fleets, with our fleet in Queen Elizabeth's time *, before we had colonies. Let him compare the ancient, with the present state of our towns and ports on or near our western coast, (Manchester, Liverpool, Kendal, Lancaster, Glasgow, and the countries round them,) that trade with and manufacture for our

* Viz. 40 sail, none of more than 40 guns.

colonies,

colonies, (not to mention Leeds, Halifax, Sheffield and Birmingham,) and consider what a difference there is in the numbers of people, buildings, rents, and the value of land and of the produce of land; even if he goes back no farther than is within man's memory. Let him compare those countries with others on the same island, where manufactures have not yet extended themselves; observe the present difference, and reflect how much greater our strength may be, (if numbers give strength,) when our manufacturers shall occupy every part of the island where they can possibly be subsisted.

But, say the objectors, 'there is a *certain distance from the sea*, in America, beyond which the expence of carriage will put a stop to the sale and consumption of your manufactures; and this, with the difficulty of making returns for them, will oblige the inhabitants to manufacture for themselves; of course, if you suffer your people to extend their settlements beyond that distance, your people become useless to you.' And this distance is limited by some to 200 miles, by others to the Apalachian mountains.—Not to insist on a very plain truth, that no part of a dominion, from whence a government may on occasion draw supplies and aids both of men and money, (though at too great a distance to be supplied with manufactures from some other part,) is therefore to be deemed useless to the whole; I shall endeavour to show that these imaginary limits of utility, even in point of commerce, are much too narrow.—The inland parts of the continent of *Europe* are farther

farther from the sea, than the limits of settlement proposed for America. Germany is full of tradesmen and artificers of all kinds, and the governments there, are not all of them always favourable to the commerce of Britain; yet it is a well-known fact, that our manufactures find their way even into the heart of Germany. Ask the great manufacturers and merchants of the Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Manchester, and Norwich goods; and they will tell you, that some of them send their riders frequently through France or Spain and Italy, up to Vienna, and back through the middle and northern parts of Germany; to show samples of their wares and collect orders, which they receive by almost every mail, to a vast amount. Whatever charges arise on the carriage of goods, are added to the value, and all paid by the consumer.—If these nations over whom we have no government; over whose consumption we can have no influence, but what arises from the cheapness and goodness of our wares; whose trade, manufactures, or commercial connections are not subject to the controul of our laws, as those of our colonies certainly are in some degree; I say, if these nations purchase and consume such quantities of our goods, notwithstanding the remoteness of their situation from the sea; how much less likely is it that the settlers in America, who must for ages be employed in agriculture chiefly, should make cheaper for themselves the goods our manufacturers at present supply them with: Even if we suppose the carriage five, six or seven hundred miles

miles from the sea as difficult and expensive, as the like distance into Germany :—whereas in the latter, the natural distances are frequently doubled by political obstructions ; I mean the intermixed territories and clashing interests of princes †.—But when we consider that the inland parts of America are penetrated by great navigable rivers ; that there are a number of great lakes, communicating with each other, with those rivers, and with the sea, very small portages here and there excepted * ; that the sea coasts (if one may be allowed the expression) of those lakes only, amount at least to 2700 miles, exclusive of the rivers running into them (many of which are navigable to a great extent for boats and canoes, through vast tracts of country) ; how little likely is it that the expence on the carriage of our goods into those countries should prevent the use of them.—If the *poor Indians* in those remote parts are now able to pay for the linen, woollen and iron wares they are at present

† [Sir C. Whitworth has the following assertion. “ Each state in Germany is jealous of its neighbours ; and hence, rather than facilitate the export or transit of its neighbours products or manufactures, they have all recourse to strangers.” State of Trade, p. xxiv. E.]

* From New York into lake Ontario, the land-carriage of the several portages altogether, amounts to but about 27 miles. From lake Ontario into lake Erie, the land-carriage at Niagara is but about 12 miles. All the lakes above Niagara communicate by navigable straits, so that no land-carriage is necessary, to go out of one into another. From Presqu’île on lake Erie, there are but 15 miles land-carriage, and that a good waggon-road, to Beef River, a branch of the Ohio ; which brings you into a navigation of many thousand miles inland, if you take together the Ohio, the Mississippi, and all the great rivers and branches that run into them.

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sent furnished with by the French and English traders, (though Indians have nothing but what they get by hunting, and the goods are loaded with all the impositions fraud and knavery can contrive to enhance their value;) will not *industrious English farmers*, hereafter settled in those countries, be much better able to pay for what shall be brought them in the way of fair commerce?

If it is asked, *What can such farmers raise, where they pay for the manufactures they may want from us?* I answer, that the inland parts of America in question are well known to be fitted for the production of hemp, flax, potash, and above all, silk; the southern parts may produce olive-oil, raisins, currants, indigo, and cochineal. Not to mention horses and black cattle, which may easily be driven to the maritime markets, and at the same time assist in conveying other commodities. — That the commodities first mentioned, may easily, by water or land-carriage, be brought to the sea-ports from interior America, will not seem incredible; when we reflect, that *hemp* formerly came from the Ukraine and most southern parts of Russia to Wologda, and down the Dwina to Archangel; and thence by a perilous navigation round the North Cape to England and other parts of Europe. It now comes from the

from the great western sea, between the mountains and the sea, and is brought to the coast of America.
[The rivers and lakes of Canada perhaps render accessible (in land and water) a tract of almost 900,000 square miles; the river Mississippi, another tract of nearly 600,000 square miles; the settled parts of the English colonies scarcely extend over a tract of 300,000 square miles. (E.)] the British colonies extend over a tract of nearly

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same country up the Dnieper and down the Duna, with much land-carriage. Great part of the Russia iron, no high-priced commodity, is brought 300 miles by land and water from the heart of Siberia. *Furs*, [the produce too of America] are brought to Amsterdam from all parts of Siberia, even the most remote, Kamtschatka.—The same country furnishes me with another instance of extended inland commerce. It is found worth while to keep up a mercantile communication between Pekin in China and Peterburgh.—And none of these instances of inland commerce exceed those of the courses by which, at several periods, *the Whole trade of the East* was carried on. Before the preperity of the Mamaluke dominion in Egypt fixed the staple for the riches of the East at Cairo and Alexandria, (whither they were brought from the Red Sea) great part of those commodities were carried to the cities of Cashgar and Balk. (This gave birth to those towns, that still subsist upon the remains of their ancient opulence, amidst a people and country equally wild.) From thence those goods were carried down the Amu, (the ancient Oxus,) to the Caspian Sea, and up the Volga, to Astrachan; from whence they were carried over to, and down the Don, to the mouth

of the river Duna, with the river Dwina.—The fork of the Don is about 400 miles distant from the sea, and the fork of the Mississippi about 900; it is 400 miles from Peterburgh to Moscow, and very considerably more than 4000 from Peterburgh to Pekin. This is enough to justify Dr. Franklin's position in the page above, without going into farther particulars. [E.]

of that river; and thence again the Venetians directly, and the Genoese and Venetians indirectly, (by way of Kassa and Trebisonde,) dispersed them through the Mediterranean and some other parts of Europe. Another part of those goods was carried over-land from the Wolga to the rivers Duna and Neva; from both they were carried to the city of Wisbuy in the Baltick, (so eminent for its laws); and from the city of Ladoga on the Neva, we are told they were even carried by the Dwina to Archangel; and from thence round the North Cape.—If iron and hemp will bear the charge of carriage from this inland country; *other metals* will, as well as iron; and certainly *silk*, since 3 d. per lb. is not above 1 per cent. on the value, and amounts to 28 l. per ton *.—If the *Groats* of a country find their way out of it; the *Manufactures* of the countries where they go, will infallibly find their way into it.

They who understand the œconomy and principles of manufactures, know, that it is impossible to establish them in places not populous;—and even in those that *are* populous, hardly possible to establish them to the prejudice of the places *already in possession of them*. Several attempts have been made in France and Spain, countenanced by the government, to draw from us and

* [I think I have been told, and upon the best authority, that a carriage has actually been established at these rates, over land, to the Ohio settlement.—*Silk*, on account of its value and convenient bulk, was proposed as a chief object of attention in this settlement. E.]

establish in those countries, our hard-ware and woollen manufactures; but without success. — The reasons are various. A manufacture is part of a great system of commerce, which takes in conveniences of various kinds; methods of providing materials of all sorts, machines for expediting and facilitating labour, all the channels of correspondence for vending the wares, the credit and confidence necessary to found and support this correspondence, the mutual aid of different artizans, and a thousand other particulars, which time and long experience have *gradually* established. A part of such a system cannot support itself without the whole; and before the whole can be obtained the part perishes. Manufactures, where they are in perfection, are carried on by a multiplicity of hands, each of which is expert only in his own part; no one of them a master of the whole; and, if by any means spirited away to a foreign country, he is lost without his fellows. Then it is a matter of the extremest difficulty to persuade a compleat set of workmen, skilled in all parts of a manufactory to leave their country together, and settle in a foreign land. Some of the idle and drunken may be enticed away; but these only disappoint their employers, and serve to discourage the undertaking. If by royal munificence, and an expence that the profits of the trade alone would not bear, a compleat set of good and skilful hands are collected and carried over; they find so much of the system imperfect, so many things wanting to carry on the trade to advantage, so many difficulties to overcome,

come, and the knot of hands so easily broken by death, dissatisfaction and desertion; that they and their employers are discouraged together, and the project vanishes into smoke.—Hence it happens, that established manufactures are hardly ever lost, but by foreign conquest, or by some eminent inferior fault in manners or government; a bad police oppressing and discouraging the workmen, or religious persecutions driving the sober and industrious out of the country. There is, in short, scarce a single instance in history of the contrary, where manufactures have once taken firm root.—They sometimes start up in a new place; but are generally supported like exotic plants, at more expence than they are worth for any thing but curiosity; until these new seats become the refuge of the manufacturers driven from the old ones.—The conquest of Constantinople, and final reduction of the *Greek empire*, dispersed many curious manufacturers into different parts of Christendom. The former conquests of its provinces, had *before* done the same. The loss of liberty in Verona, Milan, Florence, Pisa, Pistoia, and other great cities of *Italy*; drove the manufacturers of woollen cloth into Spain and *Flanders*. The latter first lost their trade and manufactures to Antwerp and the cities of *Brabant*; from whence, by persecution for religion, they were sent into Holland and England: [While] the civil wars during the minority of Charles the first of *Spain*, which ended in the loss of the liberty of their great towns; ended too in the loss

loss of the manufactures of Toledo, Segovia, Salamanca, Medina del campo, &c. The revocation of the *edict of Nantes*, communicated, to all the Protestant parts of Europe, the paper, silk, and other valuable manufactures of France; almost peculiar at that time to that country, and till then in vain attempted elsewhere.—To be convinced that it is not soil and climate, or even freedom from taxes, that determines the residence of manufacturers, we need only turn our eyes on *Holland*; where a multitude of manufactures are still carried on (perhaps more than on the same extent of territory any where in Europe) and sold on terms upon which they cannot be had in any other part of the world.—And this too is true of those *growths*, which, by their nature and the labour required to raise them, come the nearest to manufactures.

As to the common-place objection to the North American settlements, that they are in *the same climate*, and *their produce the same as that of England*;—in the first place it is not true; it is particularly not so of the countries now likely to be added to our settlements; and of our present colonies, the products, lumber, tobacco, rice, and indigo, great articles of commerce, do not interfere with the products of England:—in the next place, a man must know very little of the trade of the world, who does not know, that the greater part of it is carried on between countries whose climate differs very little. Even the trade between the different parts of these British islands, is greatly superior

superior to that between England and all the West India islands put together †.

If I have been successful in proving that a considerable commerce may and will subsist between us and our future most inland settlements in North America, notwithstanding their distance; I have more than half proved no *other inconvenience will arise* from their distance. Many men in such a country, must "know," must "think," and must "care," about the country they chiefly trade with. The juridical and other connections of government are yet a faster hold than even commercial ties, and spread directly and indirectly far and wide. Business to be solicited and causes depending, create a great intercourse even where private property is *not* divided in different countries; — yet this division *will* always subsist, where different countries are ruled by the same government. Where a man has landed property both in the mother country and a province, he will almost always live in the mother country: This, though there were no trade, is singly a sufficient gain. It is said, that Ireland pays near a million sterling annually to its absentees in England: The balance of trade from Spain, or even Portugal, is scarcely equal to this.

Let it not be said we have *no absentees* from North America. There are many, to the writer's knowledge; — and if there are at present but few of them that distinguish themselves here by great

† [But why may not a difference of circumstances produce a trade, as well as a difference of climate? — Climate itself has its effect only by causing this difference of circumstances. E.]

expence,

expence, it is owing to the mediocrity of fortune among the inhabitants of the Northern colonies; and a more equal division of landed property, than in the West India islands, so that there are as yet but few large estates. But if those who have such estates, reside upon and take care of them, themselves, are they worse subjects than they would be if they lived idly in England?—Great merit is assumed for the gentlemen of the West Indies †, on the score of their residing and spending their money in England. I would not depreciate that merit; it is considerable; for they might, if they pleased, spend their money in France: but the difference between their spending it here and at home, is not so great. What do they spend it in when they are here, but the produce and manufactures of this country;—and would they not do the same if they were at home? Is it of any great importance to the English † farmer, whether the West India gentleman comes to London and eats his beef, pork, and tongues, fresh; or has them brought to him in the West Indies salted? whether he eats his English cheese and butter, or drinks his English ale, at London or in Barbadoes? Is the clothier's, or the mercer's, or the cutler's, or the toyman's profit less, for their goods being worn and consumed by the same persons, residing on the other side of the ocean? Would not the profits of the merchant and mariner be rather greater, and some addition made to our navigation,

† Remarks, p. 47, 48, &c.

† [Whether our author meant the English or Irish farmer, eventually perhaps, he thought them one and the same. E.] tion.

tion, ships and seamen?—If the North American gentleman stays in his own country, and lives there in that degree of luxury and expence with regard to the use of British manufactures, that his fortune entitles him to; may not his example (from the imitation of superiors, so natural to mankind) spread the use of those manufactures among hundreds of families around him; and occasion a much greater demand for them, than it would do if he should remove and live in London?

—However this may be, if in our views of immediate advantage, it seems preferable that the gentlemen of large fortunes in North America should reside much in England; it is what may surely be expected, as fast as such fortunes are acquired there. Their having “colleges of their own for the education of their youth,” will not prevent it: A little knowledge and learning acquired, increases the appetite for more, and will make the conversation of the learned on this side the water more strongly desired. Ireland has its university likewise; yet this does not prevent the immense pecuniary benefit we receive from that kingdom. And there will always be in the conveniences of life, the politeness, the pleasures, the magnificence of the reigning country, many other attractions besides those of learning, to draw men of substance there, where they can, (apparently at least) have the best bargain of happiness for their money.

Our trade to the *West India islands* is undoubtedly a valuable one: but whatever is the amount

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of it, it *has long been at a stand*. Limited as our sugar planters are by the scantiness of territory, they cannot increase much beyond their present number; and this is an evil, as I shall show hereafter, that will be little helped by our keeping Guadaloupe.—The trade to our Northern Colonies, is not only greater, but yearly increasing with the increase of people: and even in a greater proportion, as the people increase in wealth and the ability of spending, as well as in numbers*.

* The writer has [since] obtained accounts of the exports to *North America*, and the *West India Islands*; by which it appears, that there has been some increase of trade to those Islands as well as to *North America*, though in a much less degree. The following extract from these accounts will show the reader at one view the amount of the exports to each, in two different terms of five years; the terms taken at ten years distance from each other, to show the increase, viz.

First Term, from 1744 to 1748, inclusive.

Northern Colonies. *West India Islands.*

1744—	£.640,114	12	4	—	—	£.796,112	17	9
1745—	534,316	2	5	—	—	503,669	19	9
1746—	754,945	4	3	—	—	472,994	19	7
1747—	726,648	5	5	—	—	856,463	18	6
1748—	830,243	16	9	—	—	734,095	15	3

Total, £. 3,486,268 1 2 Tot. £. 3,363,337 10 10
Difference, 122,930 10 4

£. 3,486,268 1 2

Second Term, from 1754 to 1758, inclusive.

Northern Colonies.

West India Islands.

1754—	1,246,615	1	11	—	—	685,675	3	0
1755—	1,177,848	6	10	—	—	694,667	13	3
1756—	1,428,720	18	10	—	—	733,458	16	3
1757—	1,727,924	2	10	—	—	776,488	0	6
1758—	1,832,948	13	10	—	—	877,571	19	11

Total, £. 7,414,057 4 3 Tot. £. 3,067,841 12 11
Difference 3,646,215 11 4

£. 7,414,057 4 3

—I have already said, that *our people in the Northern Colonies* double in about 25 years, exclusive of

In the first term, total of West India islands,	3,363,337	10	10
In the second term, ditto,	3,767,841	12	11
<hr/>			
Increase, only £.	0,404,504	2	1
<hr/>			
In the first term, total for northern Colonies,	3,486,268	1	2
In the second term, ditto,	7,414,057	4	3
<hr/>			
Increase, £.	3,927,789	3	1

By these accounts it appears, that the exports to the West India islands, and to the northern colonies, were in the first term nearly equal; (the difference being only 122,936l. 10s. 4d.) and in the second term, the exports to those islands had only increased 404,504l. 2s. 1d.—Whereas the increase to the northern colonies is 3,927,789l. 3s. 1d. almost *four millions*.

Some part of this increased demand for English goods, may be ascribed to the armies and fleets we have had both in North America and the West Indies; not so much for what is consumed by the soldiery; their clothing, stores, ammunition, &c. sent from hence on account of the government, being (as is supposed) not included in these accounts of merchandize exported; but, as the war has occasioned a great plenty of money in America, many of the inhabitants have increased their expense.

N. B. These accounts do not include any exports from *Scotland* to America, which are doubtless proportionably considerable; nor the exports from *Ireland*.

[I shall carry on this calculation where Dr. Franklin left it. For four years, from 1770 to 1773 inclusively, the same average annual exports to the same ports of the West Indies, is 994,463l.; and to the same ports of the North American plantations 2,919,669l. But the annual averages of the first and second terms of the former, were 672,668l. and 753,568l: of the latter, 697,254l. and 1,482,811l.

In ten years therefore (taking the middle years of the terms) the North American trade is found to have *doubled* the West Indian: in the next fifteen years it becomes greater by *three-fold*.—With respect to itself, the North American trade in 32 years (taking the extremes of the terms) has quadrupled; while the West Indian trade increased only one half; of which increase I apprehend Jamaica

of the accession of strangers. That I speak within bounds, I appeal to the authentic accounts frequently required by the board of trade, and transmitted to that board by the respective governors; of which accounts I shall select one as a sample, being that from the colony of Rhode-Island*; a colony that of all the others receives the least addition from strangers.—For the increase of our *trade to these colonies*, I refer to the accounts frequently laid before Parliament, by the officers of the customs, and to the custom-house books: from which I have also selected one account, that

maica has given more than $\frac{1}{3}$, chiefly in consequence of the quiet produced by the peace with the maroon negroes.—Had the West Indian trade continued stationary, the North American trade would have quadrupled with respect to it, in 26 years: and this, notwithstanding the checks given to the latter, by their non-importation agreements and the encouragement of their own manufactures.

There has been an accession to both these trades, produced by the cessions at the treaty of Paris; not touched upon by Dr. Franklin. The average *annual* export-trade, from 1770 to 1773 inclusively, to the ceded West India islands, amounted to 258,299 l.: to the ceded North American territory it has been 280,423 l. See Sir Charles Whitworth's State of Trade. E.]

* *Copy of the Report of Governor Hopkins to the Board of Trade, on the Numbers of People in Rhode-Island.*

In obedience to your lordships' commands, I have caused the within account to be taken by officers under oath. By it there appears to be in this colony at this time 35,939 white persons, and 4697, blacks, chiefly negroes.

In the year 1730, by order of the then lords commissioners of trade and plantations, an account was taken of the number of people in this colony, and then there appeared to be 15,302 white persons, and 2633 blacks.

Again in the year 1748, by like order, an account was taken of the number of people in this colony, by which it appears there were at that time 20,755 white persons, and 4373 blacks.

Colony of Rhode-Island, Dec. 24, 1755. STEPHEN HOPKINS.

of the trade from England (exclusive of Scotland) to Pennsylvania †; a colony most remarkable for the plain frugal manner of living of its inhabitants, and the most suspected of carrying on manufactures, on account of the number of German artisans, who are known to have transplanted themselves into that country; though even these, in truth, when they come there, generally apply themselves to agriculture, as the surest support and most advantageous employment. By this account it appears, that the exports to that province have in 28 years, increased nearly in the proportion of 17 to 1; whereas the people themselves, who by other authentic accounts appear to double their numbers (the strangers who settle there included) in about 16 years, cannot in the 28 years have increased in a greater proportion than as 4 to 1. The additional demand then, and consumption of goods from England, of 13 parts in 17 more than the additional number would require, must be

† *An Account of the Value of the Exports from England to Pennsylvania, in one Year, taken at different Periods, viz.*

In 1723	they amounted only to	- - - £. 15,992	: 19	: 4
1730	they were	- - - - -	48,592	: 7 : 5
1737	- - - - -	- - - - -	56,690	: 6 : 7
1742	- - - - -	- - - - -	75,295	: 3 : 4
1747	- - - - -	- - - - -	82,404	: 17 : 7
1752	- - - - -	- - - - -	201,666	: 19 : 11
1757	- - - - -	- - - - -	268,426	: 6 : 6

N. B. The accounts for 1758 and 1759, are not yet completed; but those acquainted with the North American trade, know, that the increase in those two years, has been in a still greater proportion; the last year being supposed to exceed any former year by a third; and this owing to the increased ability of the people to spend, from the greater quantities of money circulating among them by the war.

owing

owing to this; that the people having by their industry mended their circumstances, are enabled to indulge themselves in finer clothes, better furniture, and a more general use of all our manufactures than heretofore.

In fact, the occasion for English goods in North America, and the inclination to have and use them, is, and must be for ages to come, much greater than the ability of the people to pay for them; they must therefore, as they now do, deny themselves many things they would otherwise choose to have, or increase their industry to obtain them.—And thus, if they should at any time manufacture some coarse article, which on account of its bulk or some other circumstance, cannot so well be brought to them from Britain; it only enables them the better to pay for finer goods, that *otherwise* they could not indulge themselves in: So that the exports thither are not diminished by such manufacture, but rather increased.—The single article of manufacture in these colonies mentioned by the Remarker, is *hats* made in New-England. It is true there have been, ever since the first settlement of that country, a few hatters there; drawn thither probably at first by the facility of getting beaver, while the woods were but little cleared, and there was plenty of those animals. The case is greatly altered now. The beaver skins are not now to be had in New-England, but from very remote places and at great prices. The trade is accordingly declining there; so that, far from being able to make hats in any quantity for

[A: B. T.] *Colonies not dangerous to G. Britain.* 191

for exportation, they cannot supply their home demand; and it is well known that some thousand dozens are sent thither yearly from London, Bristol, and Liverpool; and sold there cheaper than the inhabitants can make them of equal goodness.

—In fact, the colonies are so little suited for establishing of manufactures, that they are continually losing the few branches they accidentally gain. The working braisers, cutlers, and pewterers, as well as hatters, who have happened to go over from time to time and settle in the colonies; gradually drop the working part of their business, and import their respective goods from England, whence they can have them cheaper and better than they can make them. They continue their shops indeed, in the same way of dealing; but become *sellers* of brassery, cutlery, pewter, hats, &c. brought from England, instead of being *makers* of those goods.

5. [*The American colonies not dangerous in their nature to Great Britain.*]

Thus much as to the apprehension of our colonies becoming useless to us. I shall next consider the other supposition, that their growth may render them *dangerous*.—Of this, I own, I have not the least conception, when I consider that we have already *fourteen separate governments*, on the maritime coast of the continent; and if we extend our settlements, shall probably have as many more behind them on the inland side. Those we now have, are not only under different governors, but have different

different forms of government, different laws, different interests, and some of them different religious persuasions and different manners.—Their jealousy of each other is so great, that however necessary an union of the colonies has long been, for their common defence and security against their enemies, and how sensible soever each colony has been of that necessity; yet they have never been able to effect such an union among themselves; nor even to agree in requesting the mother country to establish it for them. Nothing but the immediate command of the crown has been able to produce even the imperfect union, but lately seen there, of the forces of some colonies. If they could not agree to unite for their defence against the French and Indians, who were perpetually harassing their settlements, burning their villages, and murdering their people; can it reasonably be supposed there is any danger of their uniting against their own nation, which protects and encourages them, with which they have so many connections and ties of blood, interest and affection, and which, it is well known, they all love much more than they love one another?

In short, there are so many causes that must operate to prevent it, that I will venture to say, an union amongst them for such a purpose, is not merely improbable; it is impossible. And if the union of the whole is impossible, the attempt of a part must be madness; as those colonies that did not join the rebellion, would join the mother country in suppressing it.—When I say such an union

[A: B. T.] *Colonies not dangerous to G. Britain.* 193

union is impossible, I mean, without the most grievous tyranny and oppression. People who have property in a country which they may lose, and privileges which they may endanger, are generally disposed to be quiet; and even to bear much, rather than hazard all. While the government is mild and just, while important civil and religious rights are secure, such subjects will be dutiful and obedient. The waves do not rise but when the winds blow.

What such an administration as the Duke of Alva's in the Netherlands, might produce, I know not; but this I think I have a right to deem impossible.—And yet there were two very manifest differences between that case, and ours; and both are in our favour. The *first*, that Spain had already united the seventeen provinces under one visible government, though the states continued independent. The *second*, that the inhabitants of those provinces were of a nation, not only different from, but utterly unlike the Spaniards. Had the Netherlands been peopled from Spain, the worst of oppression had probably not provoked them to wish a separation of government. It might, and probably, would have ruined the country; but would never have produced an independent sovereignty.—In fact, neither the very worst of governments, the worst of politics in the last century; nor the total abolition of their remaining liberty, in the provinces of *Spain itself*, in the present; have produced any independency [in Spain] that could be supported. The same may be observed of *France*. C c And

And let it not be said that the neighbourhood of these to the seat of government has prevented a separation.—While our strength at sea continues, the banks of the Ohio, (in point of easy and expeditious conveyance of troops) are nearer to London, than the remote parts of France and Spain to their respective capitals; and much nearer than Connaught and Ulster were in the days of Queen Elizabeth.—No body foretels the dissolution of the Russian monarchy from its extent; yet I will venture to say, the eastern parts of it are already much more inaccessible from Peterburgh, than the country on the Mississippi is from London; I mean more men, in less time, might be conveyed the latter than the former distance. The rivers Oby, Jenisea and Lena, do not facilitate the communication half so well by their course, nor are they half so practicable, as the American rivers. To this I shall only add the observation of Machiavel, in his Prince; that a government seldom long preserves its dominion over those who are foreigners to it; who, on the other hand, fall with great ease, and continue inseparably annexed to the government of their own nation: which he proves by the fate of the English conquests in France.—Yet with all these disadvantages, so difficult is it to overturn an established government, that it was not without the assistance of France and England, that the United Provinces supported themselves: which teaches us, that

6. [*The French remaining in Canada, an encouragement to disaffections in the British Colonies.—If they prove a check, that check of the most barbarous nature.*]

If the visionary danger of independence in our colonies it to be feared; nothing is more likely to render it substantial, than the neighbourbood of foreigners at enmity with the sovereign government, capable of giving either aid & or an asylum, as the event shall require.—Yet against even these disadvantages, did Spain preserve almost ten provinces, merely thro' their want of union; which indeed could never

† [The said Dr. Franklin alludes to, must probably have consisted in early and full supplies of arms, officers, intelligence, and trade of export and of import, through the river St. Lawrence, on risks both public and private; in the encouragement of splendid promises and a great ally; in the passage from Canada to the back settlements, being *free* to the *British* forces; in the quiet of the *great body* of Indians; in the support of emissaries and discontented citizens; in loans and subsidies to congress, in ways *profitable* to France; in a refuge to be granted them in case of defeat, in vacant lands, as settlers; in the probability of war commencing earlier between England and France, at the gulph of St. Lawrence, (when the shipping taken, were *regularly* addressed to Frenchmen,) than in the present case.—All this might have happened, *as soon* as America's distaste of the sovereign, had exceeded the fear of the foreigner; a circumstance frequently seen possible in history, and which our ministers took care should not be wanting.

This explanation would have required apology for its insertion; were not the opinion pretty common in England, that *had not the French been removed from Canada, the result of America never would have taken place.*—Why then were the French *not* left in Canada, at the peace of 1763? Or, since they *were* not left there, why was the American dispute begun?—Yet in one sense perhaps this opinion is true; for *had* the French been left in Canada, ministers would not only have *sooner* felt, but *sooner* have seen, the strange fatality of their plans. E.]

have taken place among the others, but for causes, some of which are in our case impossible, and others it is impious to suppose possible.

The Romans well understood that policy, which teaches the security arising to the chief government from separate states among the governed; when they restored the liberties of the states of Greece, (oppressed but united under Macedon) by an edict, that every state should live under its own laws *. They did not even name a governor. Independence of each other, and separate interests, (though among a people united by common manners, language, and I may say religion; inferior neither in wisdom, bravery, nor their love of liberty, to the Romans themselves;) was all the security the sovereigns wished for their sovereignty. It is true, they did not call themselves sovereigns; they set no value on the title; they were contented with possessing the thing. And possess it they did, even without a standing army:—(what can be a stronger proof of the security of their possession?) And yet by a policy similar to this throughout, was the Roman world subdued and held: a world composed of above an hundred languages and sets of manners, different from those of their masters †.

—Yet

* [“All the Greek states, whether in Europe or Asia, had their liberty and their own laws, &c.” E.] Livy, book 33. c. 30.

† When the Romans had subdued Macedon and Illyricum, they were both formed into republics by a decree of the senate; and Macedon was thought safe from the danger of a revolution, by being divided, into a division common among the Romans, as we learn from the accounts of the *tetrarchis* in scripture. [“In the first instance, it was their pleasure that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be
“ free.”

—Yet this dominion was unshakeable, till the loss of liberty and corruption of manners in the sovereign state, overturned it.

But what is the prudent policy inculcated by the Remarker, to obtain this end, security of dominion over our colonies? It is, to leave the French in Canada, to "check" their growth; for otherwise our people may "increase infinitely from all causes."

We have already seen in what manner the French and their Indians check the growth of our colonies.

—It is a modest word, this, *check*, for massacring men, women and children. The writer would, if he could, hide from himself as well as from the public, the horror arising from such a proposal, by couching it in general terms: 'tis no wonder he thought it a "subject not fit for discussion" in his letter; though he recommends it as "a point" that should be the constant object of the minister's attention!"—But if Canada is restored on

"free; that it might be clear to all nations, that the arms of the Roman people did not bring slavery upon the free, but on the contrary.
 "freedom to those who were enslaved. Nations in a state of liberty, "were to feel that liberty, safe and perpetual under the patronage of the people of Rome: Those that lived under kings, were "to find their kings milder and juster at the instant, out of respect "to the Roman people; and if war should at any time take place "between the Roman people and their kings, they were to believe "that it must end in victory to the Romans and liberty to themselves.—It was their pleasure also that Macedon should be divided "into *six districts*, and each have a separate council of its own: "and that it should pay to the Roman people only *half the tribute*, "it had been used to pay to their kings. — Their determinations "were of the same temper respecting *Illyria*." E.] Livy, book 45,

c. 18.

Remarks, p. 50, 51.

this

this principle; will not Britain be guilty of all the blood to be shed, all the murders to be committed, in order to check this dreaded growth of our own people? Will not this be telling the French in plain terms, that the horrid barbarities they perpetrate with their Indians on our colonists, are agreeable to us; and that they need not apprehend the resentment of a government, with whose views they so happily concur? Will not the colonies view it in this light? Will they have reason to consider themselves any longer as subjects and children; when they find their cruel enemies halloo'd upon them by the country from whence they sprung; the government that owes them protection, as it requires their obedience? Is not this the most likely means of driving them into the arms of the French, who can invite them by an offer of that security, their own government chuses not to afford them?—I would not be thought to insinuate that the Remarker wants humanity. I know how little many good-natured persons are affected by the distresses of people at a distance, and whom they do not know. There are even those, who, being present, can sympathize sincerely with the grief of a lady on the sudden death of a favourite bird; and yet can read of the sinking of a city in Syria with very little concern.—If it be, after all, thought necessary to check the growth of our colonies; give me leave to propose a method less cruel. It is a method of which we have an example in scripture. The murder of husbands, of wives, of brothers, sisters, and children, whose pleasing society

society has been for some time enjoyed, affects deeply the respective surviving relations : but grief for the death of a child just born is short, and easily supported. The method I mean is that which was dictated by the Egyptian policy, when the "infinite increase" of the children of Israel was apprehended as dangerous to the state*. Let an act of parliament then be made, enjoining the colony midwives to stifle in the birth every third or fourth child. By this means you may keep the colonies to their present size. And if they were under the hard alternative of submitting to one or the other of these schemes for checking their growth, I dare answer for them, they would prefer the latter.

But all this debate about the propriety or impropriety of keeping or restoring Canada, is possibly too early. We have taken the capital indeed, but the country is yet far from being in our possession; and perhaps never will be: for if our Ministers are persuaded by such counsellors as the Remarker, that the French there are "not the worst of neighbours;" and that if we had conquered Canada, we ought for our own sakes to restore it, as a check to the growth of our colonies; I am then afraid we shall never take it. For there

* And Pharaoh said unto his people, behold the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we; come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply; and it come to pass that when there shall be out any war, they join also unto our enemies and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land.—And the king spake to the Hebrew midwives, &c. Exodus, chap. 1.

are many ways of avoiding the completion of the conquest, that will be less exceptionable and less odious than the giving it up.

7. [*Canada easily peopled, without draining Great Britain of any of its inhabitants.*]

The objection I have often heard, that if we had Canada, we could not people it, without draining Britain of its inhabitants; is founded on ignorance of the nature of population in new countries. When we first began to colonize in America, it was necessary to send people, and to send seed-corn; but it is not now necessary that we should furnish, for a new colony, either one or the other. The annual increment alone of our present colonies, without diminishing their numbers, or requiring a man from hence; is sufficient in ten years to fill Canada with double the number of English that it now has of French inhabitants.—Those who are protestants among the French, will probably choose to remain under the English government; many will choose to remove, if they can be allowed to sell their lands, improvements and effects: the rest in that thin-settled country, will in less than half a century, from the crowds of English settling round and among them, be blended and incorporated with our people both in language and manners.*

* In fact, there has not gone from Britain [itself] to our colonies these 20 years past, so many as 10 families a year; the new settlers are either the offspring of the old, or emigrants from Germany, or the north of Ireland. [N. B. Written in 1760 or 1761. E.]

8. [*The merits of Guadeloupe to Great Britain over-valued; yet likely to be paid much dearer for, than Canada.*]

*In Guadeloupe the case is somewhat different; and though I am far from thinking † we have sugar-land enough †, I cannot think Guadeloupe is so desirable an increase of it, as other objects the enemy would probably be infinitely more ready to part with.—A country fully inhabited by any nation, is no proper possession for another of different language, manners and religion. It is hardly ever tenable at less expence than it is worth.—But the isle of *Cayenne*, and its *appendix*, *Equinocial-France*, having but very few inhabitants, and these therefore easily removed; would indeed be an acquisition every way suitable to our situation and desires. This would hold all that migrate from Barbadoes, the Leeward Islands, or Jamaica. It would certainly recall into an English government (in which there would be room for millions) all who have before settled or purchased in Martinico, Guadeloupe, Santa-Cruz or St. John's; except such as know not the value of an English go-*

† Remarks, p. 30, 34.

† It is often said we have plenty of sugar-land still unemployed in Jamaica: but those who are well acquainted with that island, know, that the remaining vacant land in it is generally situated among mountains, rocks and gullies, that make carriage impracticable, so that no profitable use can be made of it; unless the price of sugars should so greatly increase, as to enable the planter to make very expensive roads, by blowing up rocks, erecting bridges, &c. every 2 or 300 yards. [Our author was somewhat misinformed here. E.]

vernment, and such I am sure are not worth recalling.

But should we keep Guadaloupe, we are told it would *enable us to export 300,000 l. in sugars*. Admit it to be true, though perhaps the amazing increase of English consumption might stop most of it here,—to whose profit is this to rebound? To the profit of the French inhabitants of the island: except a small part that should fall to the share of the English purchasers, but whose whole purchase-money must first be added to the wealth and circulation of France. I grant, however, much of this 300,000 *l.* would be expended in British manufactures. Perhaps, too, a few of the land-owners of Guadaloupe might dwell and spend their fortunes in Britain, (though probably much fewer than of the inhabitants of North America.) I admit the advantage arising to us from these circumstances, (as far as they go) in the case of Guadaloupe, as well as in that of our other West India settlements.—Yet even this consumption is little better than that of an allied nation would be, who should take our manufactures and supply us with sugar, and put us to no great expence in defending the place of growth.—But, though our *own* colonies expend among us almost the whole produce of our sugar*, *can we or ought we* to promise ourselves this will be the case of Guadaloupe? One 100,000 *l.* will supply them with British manufactures; and supposing we can effectually prevent the introduction of those of

* Remarks, p. 47.

France,

France, (which is morally impossible in a country used to them) the other 200,000 l. will still be spent in France, in the education of their children and support of themselves; or else be laid up there, where they will always think their home to be.

Besides this consumption of British manufactures, *much is said of the benefit we shall have from the situation of Guadaloupe*; and we are told of a trade to the Caraccas and Spanish Main.—In what respect Guadaloupe is better situated for this trade than Jamaica, or even any of our other islands, I am at a loss to guess. I believe it to be not so well situated for that of the windward coast, as Tobago and St. Lucia; which in this, as well as other respects, would be more valuable possessions, and which, I doubt not, the peace will secure to us. Nor is it nearly so well situated for that of the rest of the Spanish Main as Jamaica.—As to the greater safety of our trade by the possession of Guadaloupe; experience has convinced us, that in reducing a single island, or even more, we stop the privateering business but little. Privateers still subsist, in equal if not greater numbers, and carry the vessels into Martinico, which before it was more convenient to carry into Guadaloupe. Had we all the Caribbees, it is true, they would in those parts be without shelter.

Yet upon the whole I suppose it to be a doubtful point, and well worth consideration, whether our obtaining possession of all the Caribbees, would be more than a temporary benefit; as it would necessarily soon fill the French part of Hispaniola

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with

with French inhabitants; and thereby render it five times more valuable in time of peace, and little less than impregnable in time of war; and would probably end in a few years in the uniting the whole of that great and fertile island under a French government. It is agreed on all hands, that our conquest of St. Christopher's, and driving the French from thence, first furnished Hispaniola with skilful and substantial planters, and was consequently the first occasion of its present opulence.—On the other hand, I will hazard an opinion, that valuable as the French possessions in the West Indies are, and undeniable the advantages they derive from them, there is somewhat to be weighed in the opposite scale. They cannot at present make war with England, without exposing those advantages, while divided among the numerous islands they now have, much more than they would, were they possessed of St. Domingo only; their own share of which would, if well cultivated, grow more sugar, than is now grown in all their West India islands.

I have before said I do not deny the utility of the conquest, or even of our future possession of Guadaloupe, if not bought too dear. The trade of the West Indies is one of our most valuable trades. Our possessions there deserve our greatest care and attention. So do those of North America.—I shall not enter into the invidious task of comparing their due estimation. It would be a very long and a very disagreeable one, to run through every thing material on this head.—It is enough to our present

sent point, if I have shown, that the value of North America is capable of an immense increase, by an acquisition and measures, that must necessarily have an effect the direct contrary of what we have been industriously taught to fear; and that Guadaloupe is, in point of advantage, but a very small addition to our West India possessions; rendered many ways less valuable to us, than it is to the French; who will probably set more value upon it, than upon a country [Canada] that is much more valuable to us than to them.

There is a great deal more to be said on all the parts of these subjects; but as it would carry me into a detail that I fear would tire the patience of my readers, and which I am not without apprehensions I have done already; I shall reserve what remains till I dare venture again on the indulgence of the public.

Remarks and Facts relative to the American
Paper-money *.

IN the REPORT of the BOARD of TRADE, dated Feb. 9, 1764, the following Reasons are given for *restraining the emission of paper-bills of credit in America, as a legal tender.*

1. "That it *carries the gold and silver out of the* province, and so ruins the country; as *experience has shewn*, in every colony where it has been practised in any great degree.
2. "That the *merchants* trading to America *have suffered* and lost by it.
3. "That the restriction [of it] *has had a beneficial effect* in New-England.
4. "That every *medium of trade should have an intrinsic value*, which paper-money has not.
- "Gold and silver are therefore the fittest for this
- "medium, as they are an equivalent; which
- "paper never can be.

* [The best account I can give of the occasion of the *Report*, to which this paper is a reply, is as follows.—During the war there had been a considerable and unusual trade to America, in consequence of the great fleets and armies on foot there, and the clandestine dealings with the enemy, who were cut off from their own supplies. This made great debts. The briskness of the trade dealing with the war, the merchants were anxious for payment; which occasioned some confusion in the colonies, and stirred up a clamour here against *paper-money*. The board of trade, of which lord Hillsborough was the chief, joined in this opposition to paper-money, as appears by the report. —Dr. Franklin being asked to draw up an answer to their report, wrote the paper given above. E.]

5. "That

5. "That debtors in the assemblies make paper-money with *fraudulent views*."

6. "That in the middle colonies, where the credit of the paper-money has been best supported, the bills have *never kept to their nominal value* in circulation; but have constantly depreciated to a certain degree, whenever the quantity has been increased."

To consider these Reasons in their order; the first is,

1. "That paper-money carries the gold and silver out of the province, and so ruins the country; as experience has shewn, in every colony where it has been practised in any great degree."—This opinion, of its ruining the country, seems to be merely speculative, or not otherwise founded than upon misinformation in the matter of fact. The truth is, that the balance of their trade with Britain being greatly against them, the gold and silver is drawn out to pay that balance; and then the necessity of some medium of trade has induced the making of paper-money, which could *not* be carried away. Thus, if carrying out all the gold and silver ruins a country, every colony was ruined before it made paper-money.—But, far from being ruined by it, the colonies that have made use of paper-money, have been, and are all, in a thriving condition. The debt indeed to Britain has increased, because their numbers, and of course their trade, have increased; for all trade having always a proportion of debt outstanding, which is

is paid in its turn, while fresh debt is contracted, the proportion of debt naturally increases as the trade increases; but the improvement and increase of estates in the colonies has been in a greater proportion than their debt.—*New England*, particularly, in 1696, (about the time they began the use of paper-money,) had in all its four provinces but 130 churches or congregations; in 1760 they were 530. The number of farms and buildings there, is increased in proportion to the numbers of people; and the goods exported to them from England in 1750, before the restraint took place, were near five times, as much as before they had paper-money.—*Pennsylvania*, before it made any paper-money, was totally stripped of its gold and silver; though they had from time to time, like the neighbouring colonies, agreed to take gold and silver coins at higher and higher nominal values, in hopes of drawing money into, and retaining it, for the internal uses of the province. During that weak practice, silver got up by degrees to 8s. 9d. per ounce, and English crowns were called six, seven, and eight shilling pieces; long before paper-money was made. But this practice of increasing the denomination, was found not to answer the end. The balance of trade carried out the gold and silver as fast as it was brought in; the merchants raising the price of their goods in proportion to the increased denomination of the money. The difficulties for want of cash were accordingly very great, the chief part of the trade being carried on

on by the extremely inconvenient method of barter. When in 1723 paper-money was first made there, which gave new life to business, promoted greatly the settlement of new lands, (by lending small sums to beginners on easy interest, to be repaid by instalments,) whereby the province has so greatly increased in inhabitants, that the export from hence thither is now more than tenfold what it then was; and by their trade with foreign colonies, they have been able to obtain great quantities of gold and silver to remit hither in return for the manufactures of this country.—*New York and New Jersey* have also increased greatly during the same period, with the use of paper-money; so that it does not appear to be of the ruinous nature ascribed to it.—And if the inhabitants of those countries are glad to have the use of paper among themselves, that they may thereby be enabled to spare for remittances hither, the gold and silver they obtain by their commerce with foreigners; one would expect that no objection against their parting with it could arise here, in the country that receives it.

The 2d reason is, “*That the merchants trading to America have suffered and lost by the paper-money.*” This may have been the case in particular instances, at particular times and places: As in *South Carolina*, about 58 years since; when the colony was thought in danger of being destroyed by the Indians and Spaniards; and the British merchants, in fear of losing their whole effects there, called precipitately for remittances; and the inhabitants,

bitants, to get something lodged in safe countries, gave any price in paper-money for bills of exchange; whereby the paper, as compared with bills, or with produce, or other effects fit for exportation, was suddenly and greatly depreciated. The unsettled state of government for a long time in that province had also its share in depreciating its bills. But since that danger blew over, and the colony has been in the hands of the crown; their currency became fixed, and has so remained to this day.—Also in *New England*, when much greater quantities were issued than were necessary for a medium of trade, to defray the expedition against *Louisbourg*; and, during the last war in *Virginia* and *North Carolina*, when great sums were issued to pay the colony troops, and the war made tobacco a poorer remuneration, from the higher price of freight and insurance: in these cases, the merchants trading to those colonies may sometimes have suffered by the sudden and unforeseen rise of exchange.—By slow and gradual rises, they seldom suffer; the goods being sold at proportionable prices. But war is a common calamity in all countries, and the merchants that deal with them cannot expect to avoid a share of the losses it sometimes occasions, by affecting public credit. It is hoped, however, that the profits of their subsequent commerce with those colonies, may have made them some reparation.—And the merchants trading to the *Middle Colonies*, (*New York*, *New Jersey*, and *Pennsylvania*,) have never suffered by any rise of exchange; it having ever been a constant rule there

there to consider British debts as payable in Britain, and not to be discharged but by as much paper (whatever might be the rate of exchange) as would purchase a bill for the full sterling sum. On the contrary, the merchants have been great gainers by the use of paper-money in those colonies; as it enabled them to send much greater quantities of goods, and the purchasers to pay more punctually for them.—And the people there make no complaint of any injury done them by paper-money, with a legal tender; they are sensible of its benefits; and petition to have it so allowed.

The 3d Reason is, "*That the restriction had a beneficial effect in New England.*"—Particular circumstances in the *New England* colonies, made paper-money less necessary and less convenient to them. They have great and valuable fisheries of whale and cod, by which large remittances can be made. They are four distinct governments; but having much mutual intercourse of dealings, the money of each used to pass current in all; but the whole of this common currency not being under one common direction, was not so easily kept within due bounds; the prudent reserve of one colony in its emissions, being rendered useless by excess in another. The Massachusetts, therefore were not dissatisfied with the restraint, as it restrained their neighbours as well as themselves; and perhaps *they* do not desire to have the act repealed. They have not yet felt much inconvenience from it; as they were enabled to abolish their paper-currency, by a large
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sum in silver from Britain to reimburse their expences in taking Louisbourg; which, with the gold brought from Portugal, by means of their fish, kept them supplied with a currency; till the late war furnished them and all America with bills of exchange; so that little cash was needed for remittance. Their fisheries too furnish them with remittance through Spain and Portugal to England; which enables them the more easily to retain gold and silver in their country. The middle Colonies have not this advantage; Nor have they tobacco; which in *Virginia* and *Maryland* answers the same purpose.—When colonies are so different in their circumstances, a regulation that is not inconvenient to one or a few, may be very much so to the rest.—But the pay is now become so indifferent in New England, at least in some of its provinces, through the want of currency; that the trade thither is at present under great discouragement.

The 4th Reason is, “*That every medium of trade should have an intrinsic value; which paper-money has not. Gold and silver are therefore the fittest for this medium, as they are an equivalent; which paper never can be.*”—However fit a particular thing may be for a particular purpose; wherever that thing is not to be had, or not to be had in sufficient quantity; it becomes necessary to use something else, the fittest that can be got, in lieu of it. Gold and silver are not the produce of North America, which has no mines; and that which is brought thither cannot be kept there in sufficient quantity for a currency. Britain,

tain, an independent great state, when its inhabitants grow too fond of the expensive luxuries of foreign countries, that draw away its money; can, and frequently does, make laws to discourage or prohibit such importations; and by that means can retain its cash. The colonies are dependent governments; and their people having naturally great respect for the sovereign country, and being thence immoderately fond of its modes, manufactures, and superfluities, cannot be restrained from purchasing them by any province law; because such law, if made, would immediately be repealed here, as prejudicial to the trade and interest of Britain.—It seems hard therefore to draw all their real money from them, and then refuse them the poor privilege of using paper instead of it.—Bank bills and bankers notes are daily used *here* as a medium of trade, and in large dealings perhaps the greater part is transacted by their means; and yet *they* have no intrinsic value, but rest on the credit of those that issue them; as paper-bills in the colonies do on the credit of the respective governments there. Their being payable in cash upon sight by the drawer, is indeed a circumstance that cannot attend the colony bills; for the reasons just above-mentioned, their cash being drawn from them by the British trade; But the legal tender being substituted in its place, is rather a greater advantage to the possessor; since he need not be at the trouble of going to a particular bank or banker to demand the money, finding (wherever he has occasion to lay

lay out money in the province) a person that is obliged to take the bills. So that even out of the province, the knowledge that every man within that province, is obliged to take its money; gives the bill a credit among its neighbours, nearly equal to what they have at home.—And were it not for the laws *here*, that restrain or prohibit as much as possible all losing trades, the cash of *this* country would soon be exported; Every merchant who had occasion to remit it, would run to the bank with all its bills that came into his hands, and take out his part of its treasure for that purpose; so that in a short time, it would be no more able to pay bills in money upon sight, than it is now in the power of a colony treasury so to do. And if government afterwards should have occasion for the credit of the bank, it must of necessity make its bills a legal tender; funding them however on Taxes by which they may in time be paid off; as has been the general practice in the colonies.—At this very time, even the silver-money in England is obliged to the legal tender for part of its value; that part, which is the difference between its real weight and its denomination. Great part of the shillings and sixpences now current, are by wearing, become 5, 10, 20, and some of the sixpences even 50 per cent. too light. For this difference between the *real* and the *nominal*, you have no *intrinsic* value; you have not so much as paper, you have nothing. It is the legal tender, with the knowledge that it can easily be repassed for the same value, that makes three-penny-

pennyworth of silver pass for fixpence. — Gold and silver have undoubtedly *some* properties that give them a fitness above paper as a medium of exchange; particularly their *universal estimation*; especially in cases where a country has occasion to carry its money abroad, either as a stock to trade with, or to purchase *allies* and *foreign succours*; — Otherwise that very universal estimation is an inconvenience which paper-money is free from; since it tends to deprive a country of even the quantity of currency that should be retained as a necessary instrument of its internal commerce; and obliges it to be continually on its guard in making and executing at a great expence, the laws that are to prevent the trade which exports it. — Paper money well funded has another great advantage over gold and silver; its lightness of carriage, and the little room that is occupied by a great sum; whereby it is capable of being more easily, and more safely, because more privately, conveyed from place to place. — Gold and silver are not *intrinsically* of equal value with iron, a metal in itself capable of many more beneficial uses to mankind. Their value rests chiefly in the estimation they happen to be in among the generality of nations, and the credit given to the opinion that that estimation will continue. Otherwise a pound of gold would not be a real equivalent for even a bushel of wheat. — Any other well-founded credit, is as much an equivalent as gold and silver; and in some cases more so, or it would not be preferred by commercial people in different countries. Not

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to mention again our own bank bills; Holland, which understands the value of cash as well as any people in the world, would never part with gold and silver for credit (as they do when they put it into their bank, from whence little of it is ever afterwards drawn out *) if they did not think and find the credit a full equivalent.

The 5th Reason is, "*That debtors in the assemblies make paper-money with fraudulent views.*" This is often said by the adversaries of paper-money, and if it has been the case in any particular colony, that colony should, on proof of the fact, be duly punished. This, however, would be no reason for punishing other colonies, who have *not* so abused their legislative powers. To deprive all the colonies of the convenience of paper-money, because it has been charged on some of them, that they have made it an instrument of fraud; is as if all the India, Bank, and other stocks and trading companies were to be abolished, because there have been, once in an age, Mississippi and South sea schemes and bubbles.

The 6th and last Reason is, "*That in the middle colonies, where the paper-money has been best supported, the bills have never kept to their nominal value in circulation; but have constantly depreciated to a certain degree, whenever the quantity has been increased.*"—If the rising of the value of any particular commodity wanted for exportation, is to be considered as a depreciation of the values

* [Perhaps Dr. Franklin had not at this time read what Sir James Stewart says of the Amsterdam bank refusing its money. E.] of.

of *whatever remains* in the country; then the rising of silver above paper to that height of additional value, which its capability of exportation only gave it, may be called a depreciation of the paper. Even here, as bullion has been wanted or not wanted for exportation, its price has varied from 5 s. 2 d. to 5 s. 8 d. per ounce. This is near 10 per cent. But was it ever said or thought on such an occasion; that all the bank bills, and all the coined silver, and all the gold in the kingdom, were depreciated 10 per cent.? Coined silver is now wanted here for change, and 1 per cent. is given for it by some bankers; are gold and bank notes therefore depreciated 1 per cent.?

—The fact in the middle colonies is really this: On the emission of the first paper-money, a difference soon arose between that and silver; the latter having a property the former had not, a property always in demand in the colonies; to wit, its being fit for a remittance. This property having soon found its value, by the merchants bidding on one another for it; and a dollar thereby coming to be rated at 8 shillings in paper-money of New York, and 7 s. 6 d. in paper of Pennsylvania; It has continued uniformly at those rates in both provinces now near 40 years, without any variation upon new emissions; though in Pennsylvania the paper currency has at times increased from 15,000*l.* the first sum, to 600,000*l.* or near it.

—Nor has any alteration been occasioned by the paper-money, in the price of the necessaries of life, when compared with silver: They have been for

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the greatest part of the time no higher than before it was emitted; varying only by plenty and scarcity; according to the seasons, or by a less or greater foreign demand.—It has indeed been usual with the adversaries of a paper currency, to call every rise of exchange with London, a depreciation of the paper: But this notion appears to be by no means just: For if the paper purchases every thing but bills of exchange, at the former rate, and these bills are not above one-tenth of what is employed [in] purchases; then it may be more properly and truly said, that the exchange has risen, than that the paper has depreciated. And as a proof of this, it is a certain fact, that whenever in those colonies bills of exchange have been dearer, the purchaser has been constantly obliged to give more in silver, as well as in paper, for them; the silver having gone hand in hand with the paper at the rate above mentioned; and therefore it might as well have been said that the silver was depreciated.

There have been several different schemes for furnishing the colonies with paper-money, that should *not* be a legal tender, viz.

1. *To form a bank, in imitation of the bank of England, with a sufficient stock of cash to pay the bills on sight.*

This has been often proposed; but appears impracticable, under the present circumstances of the colony trade; which, as is said above, draws all the cash to Britain, and would soon strip the bank.

2. *To*

2. *To raise a fund by some yearly tax, securely lodged in the bank of England as it arises, which should, (during the term of years for which the paper-bills are to be current) accumulate to a sum sufficient to discharge them all at their original value.*

This has been tried in Maryland; and the bills so funded were issued without being made a general legal tender. The event was, that as notes payable in time are naturally subject to a discount proportioned to the time; so these bills fell at the beginning of the term so low, as that twenty pounds of them became worth no more than twelve pounds in Pennsylvania, the next neighbouring province; though both had been struck near the same time at the same nominal value, but the latter was supported by the general legal tender. The Maryland bills however began to rise as the term shortened, and towards the end recovered their full value. But as a depreciating currency injures creditors, *this* injured debtors; and by its continually changing value, appears unfit for the purpose of money, which should be as fixed as possible in its own value; because it is to be the measure of the value of other things.

3. *To make the bills carry an interest sufficient to support their value.*

This too has been tried in some of the New England colonies; but great inconveniencies were found to attend it. The bills, to fit them for a currency, are made of various denominations; and some very low, for the sake of change; there are of them from 10*l.* down to 3*d.* When they first

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come abroad, they pass easily, and answer the purpose well enough for a few months; but as soon as the interest becomes worth computing, the calculation of it on every little bill in a sum between the dealer and his customers in shops, warehouses, and markets, takes up much time; to the great hindrance of business. This evil, however, soon gave place to a worse; for the bills were in a short time gathered up and hoarded; it being a very tempting advantage to have money bearing interest, and the principal all the while in a man's power, ready for bargains that may offer; which money out on mortgage is not. By this means numbers of people became usurers with small sums, who could not have found persons to take such sums of them upon interest, giving good security; and would therefore not have thought of it; but would rather have employed the money in some business, if it had been money of the common kind. Thus trade, instead of being increased by such bills, is diminished; and by their being shut up in chests, the very end of making them (*viz.* to furnish a medium of commerce) is in a great measure, if not totally defeated.

On the whole, no method has hitherto been formed to establish a medium of trade, in lieu of money, equal in all its advantages, to bills of credit—funded on sufficient taxes for discharging it, or on land-security of double the value for repaying it at the end of the term; and in the mean time, made a GENERAL LEGAL TENDER.

The experience of now near half a century in the middle colonies, has convinced them of it among themselves; by the great increase of their settlements, numbers, buildings, improvements, agriculture, shipping, and commerce. And the same experience has satisfied the British merchants who trade thither, that it has been greatly useful to them, and not in a single instance prejudicial.

It is therefore hoped, that securing the full discharge of British debts, which are payable here, and in all justice and reason ought to be fully discharged here in sterling money; the restraint on the legal tender within the colonies will be taken off; at least for those colonies that desire it, and where the merchants trading to them make no objection to it.

Remarks

*Remarks on a Plan for the future Management
of Indian Affairs ‡.*

THE regulations in this plan seem to me to be in general very good: but some few appear to want explanation or farther consideration.

Clause 3. Is it intended by this clause to prevent the trade that Indians, living near the frontiers, may choose to carry on with the inhabitants, by bringing their skins into the [English] settlements?—This prevention is hardly practicable; as such trade may be carried on in many places out of the observation of government; the frontier being of great extent, and the inhabitants thinly settled in the woods, remote from each other. The Indians too do not every where live in towns sufficiently numerous to encourage traders to re-

‡ [The plan remarked upon, was under the consideration of ministry before the close of the year 1766, and (as I am inclined to think) after the commencement of 1765. I can go no nearer as to its date.

It is needless to enter into the particulars of it, as the remarks explain themselves; except perhaps as to the following points. The trade was to be open; there were to be two superintendants to it; in the northern district the trade was to be carried on at fixed posts, in the southern within the Indian towns; the military were to have no power over the superintendants or the Indian trade, even in war time, unless with the superintendants assent, or in great exigencies; the superintendants, by themselves or deputies, were to make annual visitations among the Indians, to see to justice, &c. and their proceedings were to be very summary; and no credit was to be given to the Indians beyond 50 shillings, for no higher debt was to be made recoverable. E.]

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side among them ; but in scattered families, here and there ; often shifting their situation for the sake of better hunting ;—and if they *are* near the English settlements, it would seem to them very hard to be obliged to carry their skins for sale to remote towns or posts ; when they could dispose of them to their neighbours, with less trouble, and to greater advantage ; as the goods they want for them, are and must be dearer at such remote posts.

4. The colony “ laws for regulating Indian affairs or commerce,” are the result of long experience, made by people on the spot, interested to make them good ; and it would be well to consider the matter thoroughly, before they are repealed, to make way for new untried schemes.

By whom are they to be repealed ? By the colony assemblies ? or by parliament ?—Some difficulty will arise here.

13. The districts seem too large for this. The Indians under the care of the northern superintendent, by this plan, border on the colonies of Nova Scotia, Quebec, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia : The superintendent’s situation, remote from many of these, may occasion great inconvenience ; if his consent is always to be necessary in such cases.

14. This seems too much to be done, when the vastness of the district is considered. If there were more districts and smaller, it might be more practicable.

15 and 16. Are these agents or commissaries to try causes where life is concerned?—Would it not be better to send the criminals into some civil well settled government or colony, for trial, where good juries can be had?

18. “*Chief for the whole tribe; who shall constantly reside with the commissary, &c.*”—Provision must then be made for his maintenance, as particular Indians have no estates, but live by hunting; and their public has no funds or revenues.—Being used to rambling, it would perhaps not be easy to find one, who would be obliged to this constant residence; but it may be tried.

22. If the agent and his deputies, and the commissaries, are not to trade; should it not be a part of their oath, that they will have no concern in such trade, directly or indirectly?—Private agreements between them and the traders, for share of profits, should be guarded against; and the same care taken to prevent, if possible, private agreements between them and the purchasers of Indian lands.

31. — “*or trading at any other post, &c.*” This should be so expressed, as to make the master liable for the offence of the servant; otherwise it will have no effect.

33. I doubt the settling of *tariffs* will be a matter of difficulty. There may be differences of fineness, goodness, and value, in the goods of different traders, that cannot be properly allowed for by general tariffs. And it seems contrary to the nature of commerce, for government to interfere.

ferre in the prices of commodities. Trade is a voluntary thing between buyer and seller; in every article of which each exercises his own judgment, and is to please himself. Suppose either Indian or trader is dissatisfied with the tariff, and refuses barter on those terms; are the refusers to be compelled? if not, Why should an Indian be forbidden to take more goods for his skins than your tariff allows, if the trader is willing to give them; or a trader more skins for his goods, if the Indian is willing to give them?—Where there are a number of different traders, the separate desire of each to get more custom, will operate in bringing down their goods to a reasonable price. It therefore seems to me, that trade will best find and make its own rates; and that government cannot well interfere, unless it will take the whole trade into its own hands (as in some colonies it does) and manage it by its own servants, at its own risque.

38. I apprehend, that if the Indians cannot get *rum* of fair traders, it will be a great means of defeating all these regulations that direct the trade to be carried on at certain posts. The countries and forests are so very large, it is scarce possible to guard every part; so as to prevent unlicensed traders drawing the Indians and the trade to themselves, by rum and other spiritous liquors; which all savage people are so fond of. I think they will generally trade where they can get rum, preferably to where it is refused them;—and the proposed prohibition will therefore be a great encouragement

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ment to unlicensed traders, and promote such trade.—If the commissaries or officers at the posts, can prevent the selling of rum during the barter for other goods, and until the Indians are about going away; it is perhaps all that is practicable or necessary.—The missionaries will, among other things, endeavour to prevail with them to live soberly and avoid drunkenness.

39. The Indian trade, so far as *credit* is concerned, has hitherto been carried on wholly upon honour. They have among themselves no such thing as prisons or confinements for debt.—This article seems to imply, that an Indian may be compelled by law, to pay a debt of fifty shillings or under. Our legal method of compulsion is by imprisonment: The Indians cannot and will not imprison one another; And if we attempt to imprison them, I apprehend it would be generally disliked by the nations, and occasion breaches.—They have such high ideas of the value of personal liberty, and such slight ones of the value of personal property; that they would think the disproportion monstrous between the liberty of a man, and a debt of a few shillings; and that it would be excessively inequitable and unjust, to take away the one for a default in payment of the other. It seems to me therefore best, to leave that matter on its present footing; the debts *under* fifty shillings as irrecoverable by law, as this article proposes for the debts *above* fifty shillings.—Debts of honour are generally as well paid as other debts. Where no compulsion can be used, it is more dif-

graceful to be dishonest. — If the trader thinks his risk greater in trusting any particular Indian, he will either not do it, or proportion his price to his risk.

44. As the goods for the Indian trade all come from England, and the peltry is chiefly brought to England; perhaps it will be best to lay the *duty* here, on the exportation of the one, and the importation of the other; to avoid meddling with the question, of the right to lay duties in America by parliament here.

If it is thought proper to carry the trading part of this plan into execution, would it not be well to *try it first in a few posts*, to which the present colony laws for regulating the Indian trade do not reach; that by experience, its utility may be ascertained, or its defects discovered and amended; before it is made general, and those laws repealed to make way for it? — If the Indians find by experience that they are better used in their trade at the posts, under these regulations, than at other places; may it not make them desirous of having the regulations extended to other places; and when extended, better satisfied with them upon reflection and comparison *?

* [The editor has given the following memorandum of Indian *fighting men*, inhabiting near the distant posts, in 1762; to indulge the curious in future times, and shew also the extent of Dr. Franklin's travels. He believes it likely to have been taken by Dr. Franklin in an expedition which he made, as a commander in the Pennsylvania militia, in order to determine measures and situations for the outposts; but is by no means assured of the accuracy of this opinion. The paper however is in Dr. Franklin's hand-writing: but it

must not be mistaken as containing a list of the whole of the nations enumerated, but only such part of them as lived near the places described. E.]

A list of the number of fighting men of the different nations of Indians, through which I (Dr. Franklin) passed, living at or near the several posts.

SANDUSKY.		
Wyandotts and Mohickons	- - - - -	200
DETROIT.		
Poutauwautimies	150	
Ottawas	250	
Wyandotts	250	
Cheapwas	320	970
MICHILEMAKINAC.		
Ottawas	250	
Cheapwas	400	650
LA BAY.		
Meynomeney	110	
Pervons	360	
Sax	300	
Reynard	320	1090
ST. JOSEPH'S.		
Poutauwautimies	200	
Ottawas (some distance)	150	350
THE MIAMI'S.		
Mincamies or Twigwees	- - - - -	230
OUITANON.		
Ouitanons	200	
Thickapooſe	180	
Musquion	90	
Pyankishaws	100	570
SHAWANEE.		
At the lower town, on Scioto	240	
At the upper town, on Mufkingum	60	300
		<hr/> 4360

There is a nation, back of the Bay, who used formerly to come there to visit the French, when they were in possession of that post, called *La Sire*, computed to be 2500 fighting men; who have this summer sent word to Mr. Gorrell, who commands there, that they purpose paying him a visit late this fall or in the spring.

III.

P A P E R S

UPON

AMERICAN SUBJECTS

DURING

THE TROUBLES.

N. B. *All the Papers under this division are distinguished by the letters [A; D. T.] placed in the running title at the head of each leaf.*

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PHYSICS

AMERICAN PHYSICS

BOOK

B. A. B. E. K. S.

III

Causes of the AMERICAN Discontents before 1768.

The Waves never rise but when the winds blow. *Prov.*

S I R *,

AS the cause of the present ill humour in America, and of the resolutions taken there to purchase less of our manufactures, does not seem to be generally understood; it may afford some satisfaction to your readers, if you give them the following short historical state of facts.

From the time that the colonies were first considered as capable of *granting aids to the crown*, down to the end of the last war, it is said, that the constant mode of obtaining those aids was, by requisition made from the crown, through its governors to the several assemblies, in circular letters from the secretary of state, in his Majesty's name; setting forth the occasion, requiring them to take the matter into consideration, and expressing a reliance on their prudence, duty, and affection to his Majesty's government, that they would grant such sums, or raise such numbers of men, as were suitable to their respective circumstances.

The colonies being accustomed to this method, have from time to time granted money to the

* [This letter first appeared in a *London* paper, *January* 7, 1768, and was afterwards reprinted as a postscript to *The true sentiments of America*, printed for *Almon*, 1768. E.]

CROWN,

crown, or raised troops for its service, in proportion to their abilities; and during all the last war beyond their abilities; so that considerable sums were returned them yearly by parliament, as they had exceeded their proportion.

Had this happy method of requisition been continued, (a method that left the King's subjects in those remote countries the pleasure of showing their zeal and loyalty, and of imagining that they recommended themselves to their sovereign by the liberality of their voluntary grants) there is no doubt, but all the money that could reasonably be expected to be raised from them in any manner; might have been obtained, without the least heart-burning, offence, or breach of the harmony of affections and interests that so long subsisted between the two countries.

It has been thought wisdom in a government exercising sovereignty over different kinds of people, to have *some regard to prevailing and established opinions* among the people to be governed; wherever such opinions might in their effects, obstruct or promote public measures. If they tend to obstruct public service, they are to be changed, if possible, before we attempt to act against them; and they can only be changed by reason and persuasion. But if public business can be carried on without thwarting those opinions; if they can be, on the contrary, made subservient to it; they are not unnecessarily to be thwarted, how absurd such popular opinions may be in their nature.

This

This had been the wisdom of our government with respect to raising money in the colonies. It was well known, that the colonists universally were of opinion, that no money could be levied from English subjects, but by their own consent, given by themselves or their chosen representatives; that therefore whatever money was to be raised from the people in the colonies, must first be granted by their assemblies, as the money raised in Britain is first to be granted by the house of commons; that this right of granting their own money, was essential to English liberty; and that if any man, or body of men in which they had no representative of their choosing, could tax them at pleasure, they could not be said to have any property, any thing they could call their own. But as these opinions did not hinder their granting money voluntarily and amply, whenever the crown by its servants came into their assemblies (as it does into its parliaments of *Britain or Ireland*) and demanded aids; therefore that method was chosen; rather than the hateful one of arbitrary taxes.

I do not undertake here to support these opinions of the Americans; they have been refuted by a late act of parliament, declaring its own power;—which very parliament, however, shewed wisely so much tender regard to those inveterate prejudices, as to repeal a tax that had militated against them. And those prejudices are still so fixed and rooted in the Americans, that, it has been supposed, not a single man among them has been

H h

convinced

convinced of his error, even by that act of parliament.

The person then who first projected to lay aside the accustomed method of requisition, and to raise money on America by *stamps*, seems not to have acted wisely, in deviating from that method (which the colonists looked upon as constitutional) and thwarting unnecessarily the fixed prejudices of so great a number of the King's subjects.—It was not, however, for want of knowledge; that what he was about to do would give them offence; he appears to have been very sensible of this, and apprehensive that it might occasion some disorders; to prevent or suppress which, he projected another bill that was brought in the same session with the Stamp Act, whereby it was to be made lawful for military officers in the colonies to quarter their soldiers in private houses. This seemed intended to awe the people into a compliance with the other act. Great opposition however being raised here against the bill by the agents from the colonies, and the merchants trading thither, (the colonists declaring, that under such a power in the army, no one could look on his house as his own,) or think he had a home, when soldiers might be thrust into it and mixed with his family at the pleasure of an officer,) that part of the bill was dropt; but there still remained a clause, when it passed into a law, to oblige the several assemblies to provide quarters for the soldiers, furnishing them with firing, bedding, candles, small beer or rum, and sundry other articles, at the expense

of the several provinces. And this act continued in force when the Stamp Act was repealed; though if obligatory on the assemblies, it equally militated against the American principle above mentioned—that money is not to be raised on English subjects without their consent.

The colonies, nevertheless being put into high good humour by the repeal of the Stamp Act, chose to avoid a fresh dispute upon the other, it being temporary and soon to expire, never, as they hoped, to revive again; and in the meantime they, by various ways in different colonies, provided for the quartering of the troops; either by acts of their own assemblies, without taking notice of the Act of *Parliament*, or by some variety or small diminution, as of salt and vinegar, in the supplies required by the act; that what they did might appear a voluntary act of their own, and not done in due obedience to an *Act of Parliament*, which, according to their ideas of their rights, they thought hard to obey.

It might have been well if the matter had then passed without notice; but a governor having written home an angry and aggravating letter upon this conduct in the assembly of his province, the outed [Proposer*] of the Stamp Act and his adherents (then in the opposition) raised such a clamour against America, as being in rebellion; and against those who had been for the repeal of the Stamp Act, as having thereby been encouragers

* [Mr. George Grenville. E.]

of this supposed rebellion; that it was thought necessary to enforce the *Quartering Act* by another act of parliament, taking away from the province of New York (which had been the most explicit in its refusal) all the powers of legislation, till it should have complied with that act. The news of which greatly alarmed the people every where in America, as (it had been said) the language of such an act seemed to them to be—obey implicitly laws made by the parliament of *Great Britain* to raise money on you without your consent, or you shall enjoy no rights or privileges at all.

At the same time a person lately in high office* projected the levying more money, from America, by new duties on various articles of our own manufacture, (as glass, paper, painters colours, &c.) appointing a new board of customs, and sending over a set of commissioners, with large salaries, to be established at Boston, who were to have the care of collecting those duties; which were by the act expressly mentioned to be intended for the payment of the salaries of governors, judges, and other officers of the crown in *America*; it being a pretty general opinion here, that those officers ought not to depend on the people there, for any part of their support.

It is not my intention to combat this opinion. —But perhaps it may be some satisfaction to your readers, to know what ideas the Americans have on the subject. They say then, as to *governors*,

• [Mr. Charles Townshend. E.]

that

that they are not like princes whose posterity have an inheritance in the government of a nation, and therefore an interest in its prosperity; they are generally strangers to the provinces they are sent to govern; have no estate, natural connection, or relation there, to give them an affection for the country; that they come only to make money as fast as they can; are sometimes men of vicious characters and broken fortunes, sent by a minister merely to get them out of the way; that as they intend staying in the country no longer than their government continues, and purpose to leave no family behind them; they are apt to be regardless of the good-will of the people, and care not what is said or thought of them after they are gone. Their situation at the same time, gives them many opportunities of being vexatious; and they are often so, notwithstanding their dependence on the assemblies for all that part of their support, that does not arise from fees established by law; but would probably be much more so, if they were to be supported by money drawn from the people without their consent or good will; which is the professed design of this new act. That if by means of these forced duties government is to be supported in America, without the intervention of the assemblies; their assemblies will soon be looked upon as useless; and a governor will not call them, as having nothing to hope from their meeting, and perhaps something to fear from their inquiries into, and remonstrances against, his mal-administration. That

That thus the people will be deprived of their most essential rights. That it being (as at present) a governor's interest to cultivate the good-will, by promoting the welfare, of the people he governs, — can be attended with no prejudice to the mother-country; since all the laws he may be prevailed on to give his assent to are subject to revision here, and if reported against by the board of trade, are immediately repealed by the crown; nor dare he pass any law contrary to his instructions; as he holds his office during the pleasure of the crown, and his securities are liable for the penalties of their bonds if he contravenes those instructions. This is what they say as to governors.

As to *judges* they allege, that being appointed from hence, and holding their commissions not during good behaviour, as in *Britain*, but during pleasure; all the weight of interest or influence would be thrown into one of the scales (which ought to be held even) if the salaries are also to be paid out of duties raised upon the people without their consent, and independent of their assemblies approbation or disapprobation of the judges' behaviour. That it is true, judges should be free from all influence; and therefore, whenever government here will grant commissions to able and honest judges during good behaviour, the assemblies will settle permanent and ample salaries on them during their commissions; but, at present, they have no other means of getting rid of an ignorant or an

an unjust judge (and some of scandalous characters have, they say, been sometimes sent them) left, but by starving them out.

I do not suppose these reasonings of theirs will appear here to have much weight. I do not produce them with an expectation of convincing your readers. I relate them merely in pursuance of the task I have imposed on myself, to be an impartial historian of American facts and opinions. — —

The colonists being thus greatly alarmed, as I said before, by the news of the act for abolishing the legislature of New York, and the imposition of these new duties, professedly for such disagreeable purposes (accompanied by a new set of revenue officers, with large appointments, which gave strong suspicions, that more business of the same kind was soon to be provided for them, that they might earn their salaries); began seriously to consider their situation; and to revolve afresh in their minds, grievances which from their respect and love for this country, they had long borne and seemed almost willing to forget.—They reflected how lightly the interest of *all America* had been estimated here, when the interests of a *few* of the inhabitants of *Great Britain* happened to have the smallest competition with it. That the whole *American* people was forbidden the advantage of a direct importation of wine, oil, and fruit, from Portugal; but must take them loaded with all the expence of a voyage one thousand leagues round about, being to be landed first in *England*, to be re-shipped

re-shipped for *America*; expences amounting, in war-time, at least to thirty pounds per cent. more than otherwise they would have been charged with; and all this merely, that a few *Portugal* merchants in *London* may gain a commission on those goods passing through their hands. (*Portugal* merchants, by the by, that can complain loudly of the smallest hardships laid on their trade by foreigners, and yet even in the last year could oppose with all their influence the giving ease to their fellow-subjects labouring under so heavy an oppression!) That on a slight complaint of a few *Virginia* merchants, nine colonies had been restrained from making paper-money, become absolutely necessary to their internal commerce; from the constant remittance of their gold and silver to *Britain*.—But not only the interest of a particular body of *merchants*; but the interest of any small body of *British tradesmen or artificers*, has been found, they say, to outweigh that of all the King's subjects in the colonies. — There cannot be a stronger natural right than that of a man's making the best profit he can of the natural produce of his lands, provided he does not thereby hurt the state in general. Iron is to be found every where in *America*, and the beaver furs are the natural produce of that country: hats, and nails and steel, are wanted there as well as here. It is of no importance to the common welfare of the empire whether a subject of the King's gets his living with making hats on this, or on that side of the water. Yet the hatters of *England* have prevailed

prevented to obtain an act in their own favour, restraining that manufacture in America; in order to oblige the Americans to send their beaver to England to be manufactured, and purchase back the hats, loaded with the charges of a double transportation. In the same manner have a few nail-makers, and still a smaller body of steel-makers (perhaps there are not half a dozen of these in *England*) prevailed totally to forbid by an act of parliament the erecting of sitting-mills, or steel furnaces in America; that the Americans may be obliged to take all their nails for their buildings, and steel for their tools, from these artificers, under the same disadvantages*.

Added

[I shall here give the reader the note at the end of the fourth paragraph of the Farmer's seventh letter, (written by Mr. *Dicken-son*.)

Many remarkable instances might be produced of the extraordinary inattention with which bills of great importance, concerning these colonies, have passed in parliament; which is owing, as it is supposed, to the bills being brought in, by the persons who have points to carry, so artfully framed, that it is not easy for the members in general, in the haste of business, to discover their tendency.

The following instances shew the truth of this remark.

When Mr. *Grreville*, in the violence of reformation and innovation, formed the 4th *George III.* chap. 15th, for regulating the *American* trade, the word "*Ireland*" was dropped in the clause relating to our iron and lumber, so that we could send these articles to no other part of Europe, but to Great Britain. This was so unreasonable a restriction, and so contrary to the sentiments of the legislature, for many years before, that it is surprising it should not have been taken notice of in the house. However, the bill passed into a law. But when the matter was explained, this restriction was taken off in a subsequent act.

I cannot say, how long after the taking off this restriction, as I have not the act; but I think in less than eighteen months, another act of parliament passed, in which the word "*Ireland*"

Added to these, the Americans remembered the act authorizing the most cruel insult that perhaps was ever offered by one people to another, that of *emptying our gaols* into their settlements; Scotland too having within these two years obtained the privilege it had not before, of sending its rogues and villains also to the plantations—I say, reflecting on these things, they said one to another (their news-papers are full of such discourses) “These people are not content with making a monopoly of us, (forbidding us to trade with any other country of Europe, and

‘ was left out, as it had been before. The matter being a second time explained, was a second time regulated.

‘ Now if it be considered, that the omission mentioned, struck off, with one word, so very great a part of our trade, it must appear remarkable: and equally so is the method by which rice became an enumerated commodity, and therefore could be carried to Great Britain only.’

“ The enumeration was obtained, (says Mr. Gee on Trade, p. 32.) by one Cole, a captain of a ship, employed by a company then trading to *Carolina*; for several ships going from *England* thither, and purchasing rice for *Portugal*, prevented the aforesaid Captain of a loading. Upon his coming home, he possessed one Mr. Lowndes, a member of parliament, (who was frequently employed to prepare bills) with an opinion, that carrying rice directly to *Portugal* was a prejudice to the trade of *England*, and privately got a clause into an act to make it an enumerated commodity; by which means he secured a freight to himself. But the consequence proved a vast loss to the nation.”

‘ I find that this clause, “privately got into an act, for the benefit of Captain Cole, to the vast loss of the nation,” is foisted into the 3d Anne, chapter 5th, intitled, ‘An Act for granting to Her Majesty a further subsidy on wines and merchandizes imported;’ with which it has no more connexion, than with 34th Edward I. 34th and 35th of Henry VIII. or the 25th Charles II. which provide that no person shall be taxed but by himself or his representatives.’ E.]

compelling

compelling us to buy every thing of them, though in many articles we could furnish ourselves ten, twenty, and even to fifty per cent. cheaper elsewhere;) but now they have as good as declared they have a right to tax us *ad libitum* internally and externally; and that our constitutions and liberties shall all be taken away, if we do not submit to that claim."

"They are not content with the high prices at which they sell us their goods, but have now begun to enhance those prices by new duties; and by the expensive apparatus of a new set of officers, appear to extend an augmentation and multiplication of those burthens that shall still be more grievous to us. Our people have been foolishly fond of their superfluous modes and manufactures, to the impoverishing our own country, carrying off all our cash, and loading us with debt; they will not suffer us to restrain the luxury of our inhabitants, as they do that of their own, by laws: they can make laws to discourage or prohibit the importation of French superfluities: but though those of England are as ruinous to us as the *French* ones are to them, if we make a law of that kind, they immediately repeal it. Thus they get all our money from us by trade; and every profit we can any where make by our fisheries, our produce, or our commerce, centers finally with them;—But this does not signify.—It is time then to take care of ourselves by the best means in our power. Let us unite in solemn resolution and engagements with and to each

each other, that we will give these new officers as little trouble as possible, by not consuming the *British* manufactures on which they are to levy the duties. Let us agree to consume no more of their expensive gewgaws. Let us live frugally, and let us industriously manufacture what we can for ourselves: thus we shall be able honourably to discharge the debts we already owe them; and after that, we may be able to keep some money in our country, not only for the uses of our internal commerce; but for the service of our gracious sovereign, whenever he shall have occasion for it, and think proper to require it of us in the old constitutional manner.—For notwithstanding the reproaches thrown out against us in their public papers and pamphlets, notwithstanding we have been reviled in their senate as rebels and traitors, we are truly a loyal people. Scotland has had its rebellions, and England its plots against the present royal family; but *America is untainted with those crimes*; there is in it scarce a man, there is not a single native of our country, who is not firmly attached to his King by principle and by affection. But a new kind of loyalty seems to be required of us, a loyalty to parliament; a loyalty, that is to extend, it is said, to a surrender of all our properties, whenever a house of commons in which there is not a single member of our chusing, shall think fit to grant them away without our consent; and to a patient suffering the loss of our privileges as Englishmen, if we cannot submit to make such surrender. We were separated too far from *Britain* by

by the ocean, but we were united to it by respect and love; so that we could at any time freely have spent our lives and little fortunes in its cause: but this unhappy new system of politics tends to dissolve those bands of union, and to sever us for ever."

These are the wild ravings of the, at present, half-distracted Americans. To be sure, no reasonable man in England can approve of such sentiments, and, as I said before, I do not pretend to support or justify them: but I sincerely wish, for the sake of the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain, and for the sake of the strength which a firm union with our growing colonies would give us; that these people had never been thus needlessly driven out of their senses.

I am yours, &c.

F. S*.

* [F. S. possibly means 'Franklin's Seal.'—The paper, however, is undoubtedly the production of Dr. Franklin.

In the *collection of tracts on the subjects of taxing the British colonies in America, and regulating their trade* (printed in 1773, in 4 vols. 8vo. by Almon;) I find *two* papers, said there to have been published originally in 1739; and to have been drawn up by a club of American merchants, at the head of whom were Sir William Keith (governor of Pennsylvania) Joshua Gee, and many other eminent persons.—The *first* paper proposes the raising a small body of regular troops under the command of an officer appointed by the crown, and independent of the governors, (who were nevertheless to assist him in council on emergent occasions;) in order to protect the Indian trade, and take care of the boundaries and back settlements. They were to be supported by a revenue to be established by *act of parliament*, in America; which revenue was to arise out of a duty on *stamp paper and parchment*.—The *second* paper goes into the particulars of this proposed stamp duty, offers reasons for extending it over all the British plantations, and recites its supposed advantages.—If these papers are at all genuine, (a fact about which I am not in the least informed) Mr. George Grenville does not appear to have been original in conceiving *stamp*, as a proper subject for his new tax. See *ib.* vol. I. E.]

Letter

Letter concerning the Gratitude of America, and the probability and effects of an Union with Great Britain; and concerning the Repeal or Suspension of the Stamp-Act.*

SIR,

Jan. 6, 1766.

I HAVE attentively perused the paper you sent me, and am of opinion, that the measure it proposes, of an *union* with the colonies, is a wise one: but I doubt it will hardly be thought so here, till it is too late to attempt it. The time has been when the colonies would have esteemed it a great advantage, as well as honour to them, to be permitted to send members to parliament; and would have asked for that privilege, if they could have had the least hopes of obtaining it. The time is now come, when they are indifferent about it, and will probably not ask it; though they might accept it if offered them; And the time will come, when they will certainly refuse it. But if such an union were now established, (which methinks it highly imports this country to establish,) it would probably subsist as long as Britain shall continue a nation. This people, however, is too proud, and too much despises the Americans, to bear the thought of admitting them to such an equitable participation in the government of

* [The name of the person to whom this letter is addressed cannot be made out in the original copy. The letter, to which it is a reply, appears to have contained the letter of some third person equally unknown to the editor. E.]

the

the whole.—Then the *next best* thing seems to be, leaving them in the quiet enjoyment of their respective constitutions; and when money is wanted for any public service in which they ought to bear a part, calling upon them by requisitorial letters from the crown, (according to the long established custom) to grant such aids as their loyalty shall dictate, and their abilities permit.—

The very sensible and benevolent author of that paper, seems not to have known, that such a constitutional custom subsists, and has always hitherto been practised in America; or he would not have expressed himself in this manner: “It is evident
 “beyond a doubt, to the intelligent and impartial,
 “that after the very extraordinary efforts which
 “were effectually made by Great Britain in the
 “late war to save the colonists from destruction,
 “and attended of necessity with an enormous load
 “of debts in consequence; that the same colonists,
 “now firmly secured from foreign enemies,
 “should be some-how induced to contribute some
 “proportion towards the exigencies of state in
 “future.” This looks as if he conceived the war
 had been carried on at the sole expence of Great Britain; and the colonies only reaped the benefit, without hitherto sharing the burthen; and were therefore now indebted to Britain on that account. And this is the same kind of argument that is used by those, who would fix on the colonies the heavy charge of unreasonableness and ingratitude, which I think your friend did not intend.—Please to acquaint him then, that the fact is not so: That every

every year during the war, requisitions were made by the crown on the colonies for raising money and men; that accordingly they made *more extraordinary* efforts, in proportion to their abilities, than *Britain* did; that they raised, paid and clothed, for five or six years, near 25,000 men, besides providing for other services, (as building forts, equipping guard-ships, paying transports, &c.) And that this was more than their fair proportion is not merely an opinion of mine, but was the judgment of government here, in full knowledge of all the facts; for the then ministry, to make the burthen more equal, recommended the case to parliament, and obtained a reimbursement to the Americans of about 200,000*l.* sterling every year; which amounted only to about two fifths of their expence;—and great part of the rest lies still a load of debt upon them; heavy taxes on all their estates, real and personal, being laid by acts of their assemblies, to discharge it, and yet will not discharge it in many years.—While then these burthens continue; while Britain restrains the colonies in every branch of commerce and manufactures, that she thinks interferes with her own; while she drains the colonies by her trade with them, of all the cash they can procure by every art and industry in any part of the world, and thus keeps them always in her debt: (for they can make no law to discourage the importation of your to *them* ruinous superfluities, as *you* do the superfluities of France; since such a law would immediately be reported against by your board of trade,

trade, and repealed by the crown;) I say while these circumstances continue, and while there subsists the established method of royal requisitions, for raising money on them by their own assemblies on every proper occasion; Can it be necessary or prudent to distress and vex them by taxes laid here, in a parliament wherein they have no representative, and in a manner which they look upon to be unconstitutional and subversive of their most valuable rights; and are they to be thought unreasonable and ungrateful if they oppose such taxes? Wherewith, they say, shall we show our loyalty to our gracious king, if our money is to be given by others, without asking our consent? And if the parliament has a right thus to take from us a penny in the pound, where is the line drawn that bounds that right, and what shall hinder their calling whenever they please for the other nineteen shillings and eleven pence? Have we then any thing that we can call our own?—It is more than probable that bringing representatives from the colonies to sit and act here as members of parliament, thus uniting and consolidating your dominions; would in a little time *remove* these objections and difficulties; and make the future government of the colonies easy; But, till some such thing is done, I apprehend no taxes laid there by parliament here, will ever be collected, but such as must be stained with blood: and, I am sure the profit of such taxes will never answer the expence of collecting them, and that the respect and affection of the Americans to this

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'country

country will in the struggle be totally lost, perhaps never to be recovered; and therewith all the commercial and political advantages that might have attended the continuance of this respect and this affection.

In my own private judgment I think an immediate Repeal of the stamp-act would be the best measure for *this* country; but a Suspension of it for three years, the best for *that*. The *repeal* would fill them with joy and gratitude, re-establish their respect and veneration for parliament, restore at once their ancient and natural love for this country, and their regard for every thing that comes from it; hence the trade would be renewed in all its branches; they would again indulge in all the expensive superfluities you supply them with, and their own new assumed home industry would languish. But the *suspension*, though it might continue their fears and anxieties, would at the same time keep up their resolutions of industry and frugality; which in two or three years would grow into habits, to their lasting advantage. — However, as the repeal will probably not be now agreed to, from what I think a mistaken opinion, that the honour and dignity of government is better supported by persisting in a wrong measure once entered into, than by rectifying an error as soon as it is discovered, we must allow the next best thing for the advantage of both countries is, the suspen-

* [It was however agreed to in the same year, viz. in 1766. E.]

sion. For as to executing the act by force, it is madness, and will be ruin to the whole.

The rest of your friend's reasonings and propositions appear to me truly just and judicious; I will therefore only add, that I am as desirous of his acquaintance and intimacy, as he was of my opinion.—I am, with much esteem,

Your obliged friend.

Kk 2. Letter.

Letter from Governor Pownall to Dr. Franklin, concerning an equal communication of rights, privileges, &c. to America by Great Britain.

Dear Sir,

THE following objection against communicating to the colonies the rights, privileges, and powers of the realm, as to parts of the realm, has been made. I have been endeavouring to obviate it, and I communicate [it] to you, in hopes of your promised assistance.

If, *say the objectors*, we communicate to the colonies the power of sending representatives, and in consequence expect them to participate in an *equal share and proportion* of all our taxes; we must grant to them all the powers of trade and manufacturing, which any other parts of the realm within the isle of Great Britain enjoy:—If so, perchance the profits of the Atlantic commerce may converge to some center in America; to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or to some of the isles:—If so, then the natural and artificial produce of the colonies, and in course of consequences the landed interest of the colonies, will be promoted; While the natural and artificial produce and landed interest of Great Britain will be depressed, to its

* [This letter bears no date. It was written possibly about the time that Governor Pownall was engaged in publishing his book on the *Administration of the colonies*. E.]

utter

utter ruin and destruction ;—and consequently the balance of the power of government, although still *within the realm*, will be *locally* transferred from Great Britain to the colonies. Which consequence, however it may suit a citizen of the world, must be folly and madness to a *Briton*.—My fit is gone off; and though weak, both from the gout and a concomitant and very ugly fever, I am much better.—Would be glad to see you.

Your friend,

J. POWNALL.

On

254 *Minutes in Reply, by Dr. Franklin.*

On the back of the foregoing letter of Gov. Pownall, are the following minutes, by Dr. Franklin.

THIS objection goes upon the supposition, that whatever the colonies gain, Britain must lose; and that if the colonies can be kept from gaining an advantage, *Britain will gain it*:—

If the colonies are fitter for a particular trade than Britain, they should have it; and *Britain* apply to what it is more fit for. The whole empire is a gainer.—And if Britain is not so fit or so well situated for a particular advantage, *other* countries will get it, *if the colonies do not*. Thus Ireland was forbid the woollen manufacture, and remains poor: But this has given to the *French*, the trade and wealth Ireland might have gained for the British empire.

The government cannot *long* be retained without the union.—Which is best (supposing your case;) to have a total separation, or a change of the seat of government?—It by no means follows, that promoting and advancing the landed interest in America, will depress that of Britain: The contrary has always been the fact. Advantageous situations and circumstances will always secure and fix manufactures: Sheffield against all Europe for these 300 years past.—

Impracticability.

Danger of innovation.

* * * * *

71

The Examination of Dr. Benjamin Franklin [before the English House of Commons, in February 1766] relative to the Repeal of the American Stamp Act.*

Q. WHAT is your name, and place of abode?
A. Franklin, of Philadelphia.

Q. Do the Americans pay any considerable taxes among themselves?

A. Certainly many, and very heavy taxes.

Q. What are the present taxes in Pennsylvania, laid by the laws of the colony?

* [1766. Feb. 3. Benjamin Franklin, Esq; and a number of other persons were ordered to attend the committee of the whole house [of commons] to whom it was referred to consider farther the several papers [relative to America] which were presented to the house by Mr. Secretary Conway, &c.]

Feb. 13. Benjamin Franklin, Esq; having passed through his examination, was excepted from farther attendance.

Feb. 24. The resolutions of the committee were reported by the chairman, Mr. Fuller; their *severals* and last resolution setting forth that it was their opinion that the house be moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to repeal the Stamp Act.—A proposal for re-committing this resolution was negatived by 240 votes to 133: (See the *Journals of the House of Commons*.)

This examination of Dr. Franklin was printed in the year 1767, under the form of a shilling pamphlet. It is prior in point of date to some of the foregoing pieces; but I readily submitted to this derangement, thinking by this means to provide the reader with a knowledge of the proceedings on which the examination was grounded.

I have put *spaces* between the answers, whenever the question led to a change of subject; which frequently happened, in consequence of the desultory and intermixed inquiries, made on the part of a body so variously composed as the house of commons. E.]

A. There

A. There are taxes on all estates real and personal; a poll tax; a tax on all offices, professions, trades and businesses, according to their profits; an excise on all wine, rum, and other spirits; and a duty of ten pounds per head on all negroes imported; with some other duties.

Q. For what purposes are those taxes laid?

A. For the support of the civil and military establishments of the country, and to discharge the heavy debt contracted in the last war.

Q. How long are those taxes to continue?

A. Those for discharging the debt are to continue till 1772, and longer, if the debt should not be then all discharged. The others must always continue.

Q. Was it not expected that the debt would have been sooner discharged?

A. It was, when the peace was made with *France* and *Spain*. But a fresh war breaking out with the *Indians*, a fresh load of debt was incurred; and the taxes, of course, continued longer by a new law.

Q. Are not all the people very able to pay those taxes?

A. No. The frontier counties, all along the continent, having been frequently ravaged by the enemy, and greatly impoverished, are able to pay very little tax. And therefore, in consideration of their distresses, our late tax laws do expressly favour those counties, excusing the sufferers; and I suppose the same is done in other governments.

Q. Are

Q. Are not you concerned in the management of the *post-office in America*?

A. Yes. I am Deputy Post-Master General of *North America*.

Q. Don't you think the distribution of stamps, *by post*, to all the inhabitants, very practicable, if there was no opposition?

A. The posts only go along the sea-coasts; they do not, except in a few instances, go back into the country; and if they did, sending for stamps by post would occasion an expence of postage, amounting, in many cases, to much more than that of the stamps themselves.

Q. Are you acquainted with *Newfoundland*?

A. I never was there.

Q. Do you know whether there are any post-roads on that island?

A. I have heard that there are no roads at all; but that the communication between one settlement and another is by sea only.

Q. Can you disperse the stamps by post in *Canada*?

A. There is only a post between *Montreal* and *Quebec*. The inhabitants live so scattered and remote from each other, in that vast country, that posts cannot be supported among them, and therefore they cannot get stamps per post.—The *English colonies* too, along the frontiers, are very thinly settled.

Q. From the thinness of the back settlements, would not the Stamp Act be extremely inconvenient to the inhabitants, if executed?

L 1 A. To

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A. To be sure it would; as many of the inhabitants could not get stamps when they had occasion for them, without taking long journeys, and spending perhaps three or four pounds, that the crown might get expence.

Q. Are not the colonies, from their circumstances, very able to pay the stamp duty.

A. In my opinion, there is not gold and silver enough in the colonies to pay the stamp duty for one year*.

Q. Don't you know that the money arising from the stamps was all to be laid out in *America*?

A. I know it is appropriated by the act to the American service; but it will be spent in the conquered colonies, where the soldiers are; not in the colonies that pay it.

Q. Is there not a balance of trade due from the colonies where the troops are posted, that will bring back the money to the old colonies?

* [The Stamp Act says, that the *Americans* shall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase nor grant, nor recover debts; they shall neither marry nor make their wills, unless they pay such and such sums' in *Specie* for the stamps which must give validity to the proceedings. The operation of such a tax, had it obtained the consent of the people, appeared inevitable; and its annual productiveness, if I recollect well, was estimated by its proposer in the house of commons at the committee for supplies, at 100,000 *l. Sterling*. The colonies being already reduced to the necessity of having *paper-money*, by sending to *Britain* the *specie* they collected in foreign trade, in order to make up for the deficiency of their other returns for *Britain's* manufactures; there were doubts where could remain the *specie* sufficient to answer the tax. E.]

A. I think not. I believe very little would come back. I know of no trade likely to bring it back.—I think it would come from the colonies where it was spent, directly to England; for I have always observed, that in every colony there more plenty the means of remittance to *England*, the more goods are sent for, and the more trade with *England* carried on.

Q. What number of white inhabitants do you think there are in *Pennsylvania*?

A. I suppose there may be about one hundred and sixty thousand.

Q. What number of them are *Quakers*?

A. Perhaps a third.

Q. What number of *Germans*?

A. Perhaps another third; but I cannot speak with certainty.

Q. Have any number of the *Germans* seen service, as soldiers, in *Europe*?

A. Yes,—many of them, both in *Europe* and *America*.

Q. Are they as much dissatisfied with the stamp duty as the *English*?

A. Yes, and more; and with reason, as their stamps are, in many cases, to be double*.

Q. How

* [The Stamp Act provides that a *double* duty should be laid where the instrument, proceedings, &c. shall be engrossed, written, or printed, within the said colonies and plantations in any other than the *English* language. This measure, I presume, appeared to be suggested by motives of convenience, and the policy of assimilating persons of foreign descent, and preventing

Q. How many white men do you suppose there are in *North America*?

A. About three hundred thousand, from sixteen to sixty years of age*.

Q. What may be the amount of one year's imports into *Pennsylvania* from *Britain*?

A. I have been informed that our merchants compute the imports from *Britain* to be above 500,000*l*.

Q. What may be the amount of the produce of your province exported to *Britain*?

A. It must be small, as we produce little that is wanted in *Britain*. I suppose it cannot exceed 40,000*l*.

Q. How then do you pay the balance?

A. The balance is paid by our produce carried to the *West Indies* (and sold in our own islands, or to the French, Spaniards, Danes, and Dutch;) by the same [produce] carried to other colonies in *North America*, (as to *New England*, *Nova Scotia*, *Newfoundland*, *Carolina*, and *Georgia*;) preventing their interference in the conduct of law business till this change should be effected.—It seems however to have been deemed too precipitate, immediately to extend this clause to newly-conquered countries. An exemption therefore was grafted, in this particular, with respect to *Canada* and *Grenada*, for the space of five years, to be reckoned from the commencement of the duty. (See the Stamp Act.) E.]

* [Strangers excluded, some parts of the northern colonies double their numbers in fifteen or sixteen years; to the southward they are longer: but taking one with another, they have doubled a natural generation only, once in twenty-five years. *Pennsylvania* I believe, including strangers, has doubled in about sixteen years.—The calculation for *February* 1766, will not then suit 1779. E.]

by the same, carried to different parts of Europe, (as Spain, Portugal, and Italy.) In all which places we receive either money, bills of exchange, or commodities that suit for remittance to Britain; which, together with all the profits on the industry of our merchants and mariners, arising in those circuitous voyages, and the freights made by their ships; center finally in Britain to discharge the balance, and pay for British manufactures continually used in the province, or sold to foreigners by our traders.

Q. Have you heard of any difficulties lately laid on the *Spanish* trade?

A. Yes, I have heard that it has been greatly obstructed by some new regulations; and by the English men of war and cutters stationed all along the coast in America.

Q. Do you think it right that America should be protected by this country, and pay no part of the expence?

A. That is not the case. The colonies raised, clothed, and paid, during the last war, near twenty-five thousand men, and spent many millions.

Q. Were you not reimbursed by parliament?

A. We were only reimbursed, what, in your opinion, we had advanced beyond our proportion, or beyond what might reasonably be expected from us; and it was a very small part of what we spent. *Pennsylvania*, in particular, disbursed about

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about 500,000*l.* and the reimbursements, in the whole, did not exceed 60,000*l.*

Q. You have said that you pay *beery taxes* in *Pennsylvania*; what do they amount to in the pound?

A. The tax on all estates, real and personal, is eighteen pence in the pound, fully rated; and the tax on the profits of trades and professions, with other taxes, do, I suppose, make full half-a-crown in the pound.

Q. Do you know any thing of the *rate of exchange* in *Pennsylvania*, and whether it has fallen lately?

A. It is commonly from one hundred and seventy to one hundred and seventy-five. I have heard that it has fallen lately from one hundred and seventy-five to one hundred sixty-two and a half; owing, I suppose, to their lessening their orders for goods; and when their debts to this country are paid, I think the exchange will probably be at par.

Q. Do not you think the people of America would submit to pay the stamp duty, if it was moderated?

A. No, never, unless compelled by force of arms.

Q. Are not the taxes in *Pennsylvania* laid on unequally, in order to burthen the English trade; particularly the tax on professions and business?

A. It

A. It is not more burthenſome in proportion, than the tax on lands. It is intended, and ſuppoſed to take an equal proportion of profits.

Q. How is the aſſembly compoſed? Of what kinds of people are the members; landholders or traders?

A. It is compoſed of landholders, merchants, and artificers.

Q. Are not the majority landholders?

A. I believe they are.

Q. Do not they as much as poſſible, ſhift the tax off from the land, to eaſe that; and lay the burthen heavier on trade?

A. I have never underſtood it ſo. I never heard ſuch a thing ſuggeſted. And indeed an attempt of that kind could answer no purpoſe. The merchant or trader is always ſkilled in figures, and ready with his pen and ink. If unequal burthens are laid on his trade, he puts an additional price on his goods; and the conſumers, who are chiefly landholders, finally pay the greateſt part, if not the whole.

Q. What was the temper of America towards Great Britain before the year 1763? *

* [In the year 1733—'for the welfare and proſperity of our ſugar colonies in America,' and 'for remedying diſcouragements of planters;' duties were 'given and granted,' to George the Second upon all rum, ſpirits, molasses, ſyrups, ſugar, and panes, of foreign growth, produce, and manuſacture, imported into our colonies. This regulation of trade, for the benefit of the general empire was acquieſced in, notwithstanding the introduction of the novel terms 'give and grant.' But the act, which was made only for the term of five years, and had been ſeveral times renewed in the reign of George the Second, and once in the reign of George the Third;

A. The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the crown, and paid, in all their courts, obedience to acts of parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several old provinces, they cost you nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons or armies, to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country at the expence only of a little pen, ink, and paper: They were led by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain; for its laws, its customs and manners; and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard; to be an *Old England-man* was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us.

Q. And what is their temper now?

A. O, very much altered.

Third; was renewed again in the year 1763, in the reign of George the Third, and extended to other articles, upon new and altered grounds. It was stated in the preamble to *this* act, 'that it was expedient that new provisions and regulations should be established for improving the revenue of *this kingdom*;' 'that it was just and necessary that a revenue should be raised in America for defending, protecting and securing the same;' 'and that the commons of Great Britain desirous of making some provision towards raising the said revenue in America, have resolved to give and grant to his Majesty the several rates and duties, &c.'—Mr. Mauduit, agent for Massachusetts Bay, tells us that he was instructed in the following terms to oppose Mr. Grenville's taxing system:—'You are to remonstrate against these measures, and if possible to obtain a repeal of the *Sugar Act*, and prevent the imposition of any further duties or taxes on the colonies. Measures will be taken that you may be joined by all the other agents. Boston, June 14, 1764.'

The question proposed to Dr. Franklin alludes to this *Sugar Act* in 1763. Dr. Franklin's answer appears to deserve the best attention of the reader. E.]

Q. Did

Q. Did you ever hear the authority of parliament to make laws for America questioned till lately?

A. The authority of parliament was allowed to be valid in all laws, except such as should lay internal taxes. It was never disputed in laying duties to regulate commerce.

Q. In what proportion hath population increased in America?

A. I think the inhabitants of all the provinces together, taken at a medium, double in about twenty-five years. But their demand for British manufactures increases much faster; as the consumption is not merely in proportion to their numbers, but grows with the growing abilities of the same numbers to pay for them. In 1723, the whole importation from Britain to Pennsylvania, was but about 15,000 l. sterling; it is now near half a million.

Q. In what light did the people of America use to consider the parliament of Great Britain?

A. They considered the parliament as the great bulwark and security of their liberties and privileges, and always spoke of it with the utmost respect and veneration. Arbitrary ministers, they thought, might possibly, at times, attempt to oppress them; but they relied on it, that the parliament on application, would always give redress. They remembered, with gratitude, a strong instance of this; when a bill was brought into parliament, with a clause, to make royal instructions

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laws in the colonies; which the house of commons would not pass, and it was thrown out.

Q. And have they not still the same respect for parliament? A. No; it is greatly lessened.

Q. To what causes is that owing?

A. To a concurrence of causes; the restraints lately laid on their trade, by which the bringing of foreign gold and silver into [the] colonies was prevented; the prohibition of making paper-money among themselves*; and then demanding a new and heavy tax by stamps; taking away, at the same time, trials by juries, and refusing to receive and hear their humble petitions.

Q. Don't you think they would submit to the Stamp Act, if it was modified, the obnoxious parts taken out, and the duty reduced to some particulars, of small moment?

A. No; they will never submit to it.

Q. What do you think is the reason that the people in America increase faster than in England?

A. Because they marry younger, and more generally.

Q. Why so?

A. Because any young couple that are industrious, may easily obtain land of their own, on which they can raise a family†.

* [Some of the colonies have been reduced to the necessity of bartering, from the want of a medium of traffic. See p. 209. E.]

† [See *The Thoughts on the Peopling of Countries*, p. 1, & seq. of this collection. E.]

Q. Are not the lower rank of people more at their ease in America than in England?

A. They may be so, if they are sober and diligent; as they are better paid for their labour.

Q. What is your opinion of a future tax, imposed on the same principle with that of the Stamp Act; how would the Americans receive it?

A. Just as they do this. They would not pay it.

Q. Have not you heard of the resolutions of this house, and of the house of Lords, asserting the right of parliament relating to America, including a power to tax the people there?

A. Yes, I have heard of such resolutions.

Q. What will be the opinion of the Americans on those resolutions?

A. They will think them unconstitutional and unjust.

Q. Was it an opinion in America before 1763, that the parliament had no right to lay taxes and duties there?

A. I never heard any objection to the right of laying duties to regulate commerce; but a right to lay internal taxes was never supposed to be in parliament, as we are not represented there.

Q. On what do you found your opinion, that the people in America made any such distinction?

A. I know that whenever the subject has occurred in conversation where I have been present, it has appeared to be the opinion of every one, that we could not be taxed in a parliament where we

were not represented. But the payment of duties laid by act of parliament as regulations of commerce, was never disputed.

Q. But can you name any act of assembly, or public act of any of your governments, that made such distinction?

A. I do not know that there was any; I think there was never an occasion to make any such act, till now that you have attempted to tax us; *that* has occasioned resolutions of assembly, declaring the distinction; in which I think every assembly on the continent, and every member in every assembly, have been unanimous.

Q. What then could occasion conversations on that subject before that time?

A. There was in 1754 a proposition made (I think it came from hence) that in case of a war, which was then apprehended, the governors of the colonies should meet, and order the levying of troops, building of forts, and taking every other necessary measure for the general defence; and should draw on the treasury here for the sums expended; which were afterwards to be raised in the colonies by a general tax, to be laid on them by *act of parliament*. This occasioned a good deal of conversation on the subject; and the general opinion was, that the parliament neither would nor could lay any tax on us, till we were duly represented in parliament; because it was not just, nor agreeable to the nature of an *English* constitution †.

† [See p. 94, and p. 120 et seq. E.]

Q. Don't you know there was a time in *New York*, when it was under consideration to make an application to parliament to lay taxes on that colony, upon a deficiency arising from the assembly's refusing or neglecting to raise the necessary supplies for the support of the civil government?

A. I never heard of it.

Q. There was such an application under consideration in *New York*;—and do you apprehend they could suppose the right of parliament to lay a tax in *America* was only local, and confined to the case of a deficiency in a particular colony, by a refusal of its assembly to raise the necessary supplies?

A. They could not suppose such a case, as that the assembly would not raise the necessary supplies to support its own government. An assembly that would refuse it must want common sense; which cannot be supposed.—I think there was never any such case at *New York*, and that it must be a misrepresentation, or the fact must be misunderstood. I know there have been some attempts, by ministerial instructions from hence, to oblige the assemblies to settle permanent salaries on governors, which they wisely refused to do; but I believe no assembly of *New York*, or any other colony, ever refused duly to support government by proper allowances, from time to time, to public officers.

Q. But in case a governor, acting by instruction, should call on an assembly to raise the necessary

cessary supplies, and the assembly should refuse to do it; do you not think it would then be for the good of the people of the colony, as well as necessary to government, that the parliament should tax them?

A. I do not think it would be necessary. If an assembly could possibly be so absurd as to refuse raising the supplies requisite for the maintenance of government among them, they could not long remain in such a situation; the disorders and confusion occasioned by it must soon bring them to reason.

Q. If it should not, ought not the right to be in *Great Britain* of applying a remedy?

A. A right, only to be used in such a case, I should have no objection to; supposing it to be used merely for the good of the *people of the colony*.

Q. But who is to judge of that, Britain or the colony?

A. Those that feel can best judge.

Q. You say the colonies have always submitted to external taxes, and object to the right of parliament only in laying internal taxes; now can you shew that there is any kind of *difference between the two taxes* to the colony on which they may be laid?

A. I think the difference is very great. An *external* tax is a duty laid on commodities imported; that duty is added to the first cost and other charges on the commodity, and when it is offered to sale, makes a part of the price. If the people do

do not like it at that price, they refuse it; they are not obliged to pay it. But an *internal* tax is forced from the people without their consent, if not laid by their own representatives. The stamp act says, we shall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase nor grant, nor recover debts; we shall neither marry nor make our wills, unless we pay such and such sums; and thus it is intended to extort our money from us, or ruin us by the consequences of refusing to pay it.

Q. But supposing the internal tax or duty to be laid on the necessities of life imported into your colony, will not that be the same thing in its effects as an internal tax?

A. I do not know a single article imported into the *northern* colonies, but what they can either do without, or make themselves.

Q. Don't you think cloth from England absolutely necessary to them?

A. No, by no means absolutely necessary; with industry and good management, they may very well supply themselves with all they want.

Q. Will it not take a long time to establish that manufacture among them; and must they not in the mean while suffer greatly?

A. I think not. They have made a surprising progress already. And I am of opinion, that before their old clothes are worn out, they will have new ones of their own making.

Q. Can

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Q. Can they possibly find wool enough in North America?

A. They have taken steps to increase the wool. They entered into general combinations to eat no more lamb; and very few lambs were killed last year. This course persisted in, will soon make a prodigious difference in the quantity of wool. And the establishing of great manufactories, like those in the clothing towns here, is not necessary, as it is where the business is to be carried on for the purposes of trade. The people will all spin, and work for themselves, in their own houses.

Q. Can there be wool and manufacture enough in one or two years?

A. In three years, I think, there may.

Q. Does not the severity of the winter, in the northern colonies, occasion the wool to be of bad quality?

A. No; the wool is very fine and good.

Q. In the more southern colonies, as in Virginia, don't you know that the wool is coarse, and only a kind of hair?

A. I don't know it. I never heard it. Yet I have been sometimes in Virginia. I cannot say I ever took particular notice of the wool there, but I believe it is good, though I cannot speak positively of it; But Virginia, and the colonies south of it, have less occasion for wool; their winters are short, and not very severe; and they can very well clothe themselves with linen and cotton of their own raising for the rest of the year.

Q. Are

Q. Are not the people in the more northern colonies obliged to fodder their sheep all the winter?

A. In some of the most northern colonies they may be obliged to do it, some part of the winter.

Q. Considering the resolutions of parliament *, *as to the right*; do you think, if the stamp act is repealed, that the North Americans will be satisfied?

A. I believe they will.

Q. Why do you think so?

A. I think the resolutions of *right* will give them very little concern, if they are never attempted to be carried into practice. The colonies will probably consider themselves in the same situation, in that respect, with Ireland; They know you claim the same right with regard to Ireland, but you never exercise it. And they may believe you never will exercise it in the colonies, any more than in Ireland; unless on some very extraordinary occasion.

Q. But who are to be the judges of that extraordinary occasion? Is not the parliament?

A. Though the parliament may judge of the occasion; the people will think it can never exercise such right, till representatives from the colonies are admitted into parliament; and that whenever the occasion arises, representatives will be ordered.

* [Afterwards expressed in the *Declaratory Act*. (E.)] *Q.* Did

Q. Did you never hear that *Maryland*, during the last war, had refused to furnish a quota towards the common defence?

A. *Maryland* has been much misrepresented in that matter. *Maryland*, to my knowledge, never refused to contribute, or grant aids to the crown. The assemblies every year, during the war, voted considerable sums, and formed bills to raise them. The bills were, according to the constitution of that province, sent up to the council, or upper house, for concurrence; that they might be presented to the governor, in order to be enacted into laws. Unhappy disputes between the two houses—arising from the defects of that constitution principally, rendered all the bills but one or two abortive. The *proprietary's* council rejected them*. It is true, *Maryland* did not contribute its proportion; but it was, in my opinion, the fault of the government, not of the people.

Q. Was is not talked of in the other provinces as a proper measure to apply to parliament to compel them?

A. I have heard such discourse; but as it was well known, that the people were not to blame, no such application was ever made, nor any step taken towards it.

Q. Was it not proposed at a public meeting?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. Do you remember the abolishing of the paper currency in New England, by act of assembly?

* [See more under the head of *Provincial Papers*. E.]

A. I do remember its being abolished, in the Massachusetts Bay.

Q. Was not Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson principally concerned in that transaction?

A. I have heard so.

Q. Was it not at that time a very unpopular law?

A. I believe it might, though I can say little about it, as I lived at a distance from that province.

Q. Was not the *scarcity of gold and silver* an argument used against abolishing the paper?

A. I suppose it was *.

Q. What is the present opinion there of that law? Is it as unpopular as it was at first?

A. I think it is not.

Q. Have not instructions from hence been sometimes sent over to governors, highly oppressive and unpolitical?

A. Yes.

Q. Have not some governors dispensed with them for that reason?

A. Yes; I have heard so.

Q. Did the Americans ever dispute the controlling power of parliament to regulate the commerce?

A. No.

Q. Can any thing less than a military force carry the Stamp Act into execution?

* [See the answer to the report of the board of trade, p. 207-9. E.]

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A. I do not see how a military force can be applied to that purpose.

Q. Why may it not?

A. Suppose a military force sent into America; they will find nobody in arms; what are they then to do? They cannot force a man to take stamps who chooses to do without them. They will not find a rebellion: they may indeed make one.

Q. If the act is not repealed, what do you think will be the consequences?

A. A total loss of the respect and affection the people of America bear to this country; and of all the commerce that depends on that respect and affection.

Q. How can the commerce be affected?

A. You will find, that if the act is not repealed, they will take very little of your manufactures in a short time.

Q. Is it in their power to do without them?

A. I think they may very well do without them.

Q. Is it their interest not to take them?

A. The goods they take from Britain are either necessities, mere conveniences, or superfluities. The first, as cloth, &c. with a little industry they can make at home; the second they can do without, till they are able to provide them among themselves; and the last, which are much the greatest part, they will strike off immediately. They are mere articles of

of fashion ; purchased and consumed, because the fashion in a respected country ; but will now be derided and rejected. The people have already struck off, by general agreement, the use of all goods fashionable in mournings ; and many thousand pounds worth are sent back as unsaleable.

Q. Is it their interest to make cloth at home ?

A. I think they may at present get it cheaper from Britain, I mean of the same fineness and neatness of workmanship ; but when one considers other circumstances, the restraints on their trade, and the difficulty of making remittances, it is their interest to make every thing.

Q. Suppose an act of internal regulations connected with a tax, how would they receive it ?

A. I think it would be objected to.

Q. Then no regulation with a tax would be submitted to ?

A. Their opinion is, that when aids to the crown are wanted, they are to be asked of the several assemblies, according to the old established usage ; who will, as they always have done, grant them freely. And that their money ought not to be given away, without their consent, by persons at a distance, unacquainted with their circumstances and abilities. The granting aids to the crown, is the only means they have of recommending themselves to their sovereign ; and they think it extremely hard and unjust.

unjust, that a body of men, in which they have no representatives, should make a merit to itself of giving and granting what is not its own, but theirs; and deprive them of a right they esteem of the utmost value and importance, as it is the security of all their other rights.

Q. But is not the post-office, which they have long received, a tax as well as a regulation?

A. No; the money paid for the postage of a letter is not of the nature of a tax; it is merely a *quantum meruit* for a service done; no person is compellable to pay the money, if he does not choose to receive the service. A man may still, as before the act, send his letter by a servant, a special messenger, or a friend; if he thinks it cheaper and safer.

Q. But do they not consider the regulations of the post-office, by the act of last year, as a tax?

A. By the regulations of last year the rate of postage was generally abated near thirty per cent. through all America; they certainly cannot consider such abatement *as a tax*.

Q. If an excise was laid by parliament, which they might likewise avoid paying, by not consuming the articles excised; would they then not object to it?

A. They would certainly object to it, as an excise is unconnected with any service done, and is merely an aid; which they think ought to be asked of them, and granted by them, if they are to pay it; and can be granted for them by no others

others whatsoever, whom they have not impowered for that purpose.

Q. You say they do not object to the right of parliament, in laying duties on goods to be paid on their importation; now, is there any kind of difference between a duty on the *importation* of goods, and an excise on their *consumption*?

A. Yes; a very material one: an excise, for the reasons I have just mentioned, they think you can have no right to lay within their country. But *the sea* is yours; you maintain, by your fleets, the safety of navigation in it, and keep it clear of pirates; you may have therefore a natural and equitable right to some *toll* or duty on merchandizes carried through that part of your dominions, towards defraying the expence you are at, in ships to maintain the safety of that carriage.

Q. Does this reasoning hold in the case of a duty laid on the produce of their lands *exported*? And would they not then object to such a duty?

A. If it tended to make the produce so much dearer abroad as to lessen the demand for it, to be sure they would object to such a duty; Not to your right of laying it; but they would complain of it as a burthen, and petition you to lighten it.

Q. Is not the duty paid on the tobacco exported, a duty of that kind?

A. That, I think, is only on tobacco carried coast-wise from one colony to another, and appropriated

propriated as a fund for supporting the college at Williamsburgh, in Virginia.

Q. Have not the assemblies in the West Indies the same natural rights with those in North America?

A. Undoubtedly.

Q. And is there not a tax laid there on their sugars exported?

A. I am not much acquainted with the West Indies; but the duty of four and a half per cent. on sugars exported, was, I believe, granted by their own assemblies*?

Q. How much is the poll-tax in your province laid on unmarried men?

A. It is, I think fifteen shillings, to be paid by every single freeman, upwards of twenty-one years old.

Q. What is the annual amount of *all* the taxes in Pennsylvania?

A. I suppose about 20,000*l.* sterling.

Q. Supposing the Stamp Act continued, and enforced, do you imagine that ill-humour will induce the Americans to give as much for worse manufactures of their own, and use them, preferably to better of ours?

A. Yes, I think so. People will pay as freely to gratify one passion as another, their resentment as their pride.

Q. Would the people at Boston discontinue their trade?

A. The

* [See the note to Lord Howe's letter to our author. E.]

A. The merchants are a very small number compared with the body of the people, and must discontinue their trade, if nobody will buy their goods.

Q. What are the body of the people in the colonies?

A. They are farmers, husbandmen, or planters.

Q. Would they suffer the produce of their lands to rot?

A. No; but they would not raise so much. They would manufacture more, and plow less.

Q. Would they live without the administration of justice in civil matters, and suffer all the inconveniences of such a situation for any considerable time, rather than take the stamps; supposing the stamps were protected by a sufficient force, where every one might have them?

A. I think the supposition impracticable, that the stamps should be so protected as that every one might have them. The act requires sub-distributors to be appointed in every county town, district, and village; and they would be necessary. But the *principal* distributors, who were to have had a considerable profit on the whole, have not thought it worth while to continue in the office; and I think it impossible to find sub-distributors fit to be trusted, who, for the trifling profit that must come to their share, would incur the odium, and run the hazard that

O o would

would attend it; and if they could be found, I think it impracticable to protect the stamps in so many distant and remote places.

Q. But in places where they could be protected, would not the people use them rather than remain in such a situation, unable to obtain any right, or recover, by law, any debt?

A. It is hard to say what they would do. I can only judge what other people will think, and how they will act, by what I feel within myself. I have a great many debts due to me in America, and I had rather they should remain unrecoverable by any law, than submit to the Stamp Act. They will be debts of honour. It is my opinion the people will either continue in that situation, or find some way to extricate themselves, perhaps by generally agreeing to proceed in the courts without stamps.

Q. What do you think a sufficient military force to protect the distribution of the stamps in every part of America?

A. A very great force; I can't say what, if the disposition of America is for a general resistance.

Q. What is the number of men in America able to bear arms, or of disciplined militia?

A. There are, I suppose, at least—

[*Question objected to. He withdrew. Called in again.*]

Q. Is the American Stamp Act an equal tax on the country?

A. I think not.

Q. Why

Q. Why so?

A. The greatest part of the money must arise from law-suits for the recovery of debts; and be paid by the lower sort of people, who were too poor easily to pay their debts. It is therefore a heavy tax on the poor, and a tax upon them for being poor.

Q. But will not this increase of expence be a means of lessening the number of law-suits?

A. I think not; for as the costs all fall upon the debtor, and are to be paid by him, they would be no discouragement to the creditor to bring his action.

Q. Would it not have the effect of excessive usury?

A. Yes, as an oppression of the debtor.

Q. How many ships are there laden annually in North America with *flax-seed* for Ireland?

A. I cannot speak to the number of ships, but I know that in 1752, ten thousand hogsheds of flax-seed, each containing seven bushels, were exported from Philadelphia to Ireland. I suppose the quantity is greatly increased since that time; and it is understood that the exportation from New York is equal to that from Philadelphia.

Q. What becomes of the flax that grows with that flax-seed?

A. They manufacture some into coarse, and some into a middling kind of linen.

Q. Are there any *slitting-mills* in America?

† [i. e. Mills for the slitting of iron. E.]

A. I think there are three, but I believe only one at present employed. I suppose they will all be set to work, if the interruption of the trade continues.

Q. Are there any *fulling-mills* there ?

A. A great many.

Q. Did you never hear that a great quantity of *stockings* were contracted for, for the army, during the war, and manufactured in Philadelphia ?

A. I have heard so.

Q. If the Stamp-Act should be repealed, would not the Americans think they could oblige the parliament to repeal every external tax-law now in force ?

A. It is hard to answer questions of what people at such a distance will think.

Q. But what do you imagine they will think were the motives of repealing the act ?

A. I suppose they will think that it was repealed from a conviction of its inexpediency ; and they will rely upon it, that while the same inexpediency subsists, you will never attempt to make such another.

Q. What do you mean by its inexpediency ?

A. I mean its inexpediency on several accounts ; the poverty and inability of those who were to pay the tax ; the general discontent it has occasioned ; and the impracticability of enforcing it.

Q. If the act should be repealed, and the legislature should shew its resentment to the opposers of the Stamp-Act, would the colonies acquiesce in

in the authority of the legislature? What is your opinion, they would do?

A. I don't doubt at all, that if the legislature repeal the Stamp-Act, the colonies will acquiesce in the authority.

Q. But if the legislature should think fit to ascertain its right to lay taxes, by any act laying a small tax, contrary to their opinion; would they submit to pay the tax?

A. The proceedings of the people in America have been considered too much together. The proceedings of the assemblies have been very different from those of the mobs; and should be distinguished, as having no connection with each other. The *assemblies* have only peaceably resolved what they take to be their rights: they have taken no measures for opposition by force; they have not built a fort, raised a man, or provided a grain of ammunition, in order to such opposition. The ring-leaders of riots they think ought to be punished; they would punish them themselves, if they could. Every sober, sensible man would wish to see rioters punished, as otherwise peaceable people have no security of person or estate.—But as to an internal tax, how small soever, laid by the legislature here on the people there, while they have no representatives in this legislature, I think it will never be submitted to: they will oppose it to the last.—They do not consider it as at all necessary for you to raise money on them by your taxes; because they are, and always have been,

been, ready to raise money by taxes among themselves, and to grant large sums, equal to their abilities; upon requisition from the crown. They have not only granted equal to their abilities; but, during all the last war, they granted far beyond their abilities, and beyond their proportion with this country, (you yourselves being judges,) to the amount of many hundred thousand pounds; And this they did freely and readily, only on a sort of promise, from the secretary of state, that it should be recommended to parliament to make them compensation. It was accordingly recommended to parliament, in the most honourable manner for them.—America has been greatly misrepresented and abused here, in papers, and pamphlets, and speeches, as ungrateful, and unreasonable, and unjust; in having put this nation to immense expence for their defence, and refusing to bear any part of that expence. The colonies raised, paid, and clothed, near twenty-five thousand men during the last war; a number equal to those sent from Britain, and far beyond their proportion; they went deeply into debt in doing this, and all their taxes and estates are mortgaged, for many years to come, for discharging that debt. Government here was at that time very sensible of this. The colonies were recommended to parliament. Every year the King sent down to the house a written message to this purpose, 'That his Majesty, being highly sensible of the zeal and vigour with which his faithful subjects in North America

'rica had exerted themselves, in defence of his Majesty's just rights and possessions; recommended it to the house to take the same into consideration, and enable him to give them a proper compensation. You will find those messages on your own journals every year of the war to the very last; and you did accordingly give 200,000*l.* annually to the crown, to be distributed in such compensation to the colonies. This is the strongest of all proofs that the colonies, far from being unwilling to bear a share of the burthen, did exceed their proportion; for if they had done less, or had only equalled their proportion, there would have been no room or reason for compensation:—Indeed the sums reimbursed them, were by no means adequate to the expence they incurred beyond their proportion: but they never murmured at that; they esteem their Sovereign's approbation of their zeal and fidelity, and the approbation of this house, far beyond any other kind of compensation; therefore there was no occasion for this act, to force money from a willing people: they had not refused giving money for the *purposes* of the act; no requisition had been made; they were always willing and ready to do what could reasonably be expected from them, and in this light they wish to be considered.

2. But suppose Great Britain should be engaged in a *war in Europe*, would North America contribute to the support of it?

A. I.

A. I do think they would, as far as their circumstances would permit. They consider themselves as a part of the British empire, and as having one common interest with it: they may be looked on here as foreigners, but they do not consider themselves as such. They are zealous for the honour and prosperity of this nation; and, while they are well used, will always be ready to support it, as far as their little power goes.—In 1739 they were called upon to assist in the expedition against *Carthagena*, and they sent three thousand men to join your army.* It is true *Carthagena* is in America, but as remote from the northern colonies, as if it had been in Europe. They make no distinction of wars; as to their duty of assisting in them.—I know the *last war* is commonly spoke of here, as entered into for the defence, or for the sake of the people in America. I think it is quite misunderstood. It began about the limits between Canada and Nova Scotia; about territories to which the *crowns* indeed had claim, but [which] were not claimed by any British colony; none of the lands had been granted to any colonist; we had therefore no particular concern or interest in that dispute.—As to the *Ohio*, the contest there began about your right of trading in the Indian country, a right you had by the treaty of Utrecht, which the French infringed; they

* Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth commanded this expedition; with what success, is well known. *Edinburgh* seized

seized the traders and their goods, which were your manufactures; they took a fort which a company of your merchants, and their factors and correspondents, had erected there, to secure that trade. Braddock was sent with an army to re-take that fort (which was looked on here as another incroachment on the King's territory) and to protect your trade. It was not till after his defeat that the colonies were attacked*. They were before in perfect peace with both French and Indians; the troops were not therefore sent for their defence.—The trade with the Indians, though carried on in America, is not an *American interest*. The people of America are chiefly farmers and planters; scarce any thing that they raise or produce is an article of commerce with the Indians. The Indian trade is a *British interest*; it is carried on with British manufactures, for the profit of British merchants and manufacturers; therefore the war, as it commenced for the defence of territories of the crown (the property of no American) and for the defence of a trade purely British, was really a British war—and yet the people of America made no scruple of contributing their utmost towards carrying it on, and bringing it to a happy conclusion.

* [When this army was in the utmost distress from the want of waggons, &c. our author and his son voluntarily traversed the country, in order to collect a sufficient quantity; and they had zeal and address enough to effect their purpose, upon pledging themselves, to the amount of many thousand pounds, for payment. It was but just before Dr. Franklin's last return to America, that the accounts in this transaction were passed at home. E.]

Q. Do you think then that the taking possession of the King's territorial rights, and *strengthening the frontiers*, is not an American interest?

A. Not particularly; but conjointly a British and an American interest.

Q. You will not deny that the preceding war, the war with Spain, was entered into for the sake of America; was it not *occasioned by captures made in the American seas*?

A. Yes; captures of ships carrying on the British trade there with British manufactures.

Q. Was not the late war with the Indians, since the peace with France, a war for America only?

A. Yes; it was more particularly for America than the former; but it was rather a consequence or remains of the former war, the Indians not having been thoroughly pacified; And the Americans bore by much the greatest share of the expence. It was put an end to by the army under General Bouquet; there were not above three hundred regulars in that army, and above one thousand Pennsylvanians.

Q. Is it not necessary to send troops to America, to defend the Americans against the Indians?

A. No, by no means; it never was necessary. They defended themselves when they were but an handful, and the Indians much more numerous. They continually gained ground, and have driven the Indians over the mountains, without any troops sent to their assistance from this country. And can it be thought necessary now to send troops for their

their defence from those diminished Indian tribes, when the colonies are become so populous, and so strong? There is not the least occasion for it; they are very able to defend themselves.

Q. Do you say there were no more than three hundred regular troops employed in the late Indian war?

A. Not on the Ohio, or the frontiers of Pennsylvania, which was the chief part of the war that affected the colonies. There were garrisons at Niagara, Fort Detroit, and those remote posts kept for the sake of your trade; I did not reckon them; but I believe that on the whole the number of Americans, or provincial troops, employed in the war, was greater than that of the regulars. I am not certain, but I think so.

Q. Do you think the assemblies have a right to levy money on the subject there, to grant to the crown?

A. I certainly think so; they have always done it.

Q. Are they acquainted with the declaration of rights? And do they know that, by that statute, money is not to be raised on the subject but by consent of parliament?

A. They are very well acquainted with it.

Q. How then can they think they have a right to levy money for the crown, or for any other than local purposes?

A. They understand that clause to relate to subjects only within the realm; that no money

can be levied on them for the crown, but by consent of parliament. *The colonies* are not supposed to be within the realm; they have assemblies of their own, which are their parliaments, and they are, in that respect, in the same situation with *Ireland*. When money is to be raised for the crown upon the subject in *Ireland*, or in the colonies, the consent is given in the parliament of *Ireland*, or in the assemblies of the colonies. They think the parliament of Great Britain cannot properly give that consent, till it has representatives from America; for the petition of right expressly says, it is to be by *common consent in parliament*; and the people of America have no representatives in parliament, to make a part of that common consent.

Q. If the Stamp Act should be repealed, and an act should pass, ordering the assemblies of the colonies to indemnify the sufferers by the riots, would they obey it?

A. That is a question I cannot answer.

Q. Suppose the King should require the colonies to grant a revenue, and the parliament should be against their doing it; do they think they can grant a revenue to the King, *without* the consent of the parliament of Great Britain?

A. That is a deep question.—As to my own opinion, I should think myself at liberty to do it, and should do it, if I liked the occasion.

Q. When

Q. When money has been raised in the colonies, upon requisitions, has it not been granted to the King?

A. Yes, always; but the requisitions have generally been for some service expressed, as to raise, clothe, and pay troops; and not for money only.

Q. If the act should pass, requiring the American assemblies to make compensation to the sufferers, and they should disobey it; and then the parliament should, by another act, lay an internal tax; would they then obey it?

A. The people will pay no internal tax; and I think an act to oblige the assemblies to make compensation is unnecessary; for I am of opinion, that as soon as the present heats are abated, they will take the matter into consideration, and if it is right to be done, they will do it of themselves.

Q. Do not letters often come into the post-offices in America, directed to some inland town where no post goes?

A. Yes.

Q. Can any private person take up those letters, and carry them as directed?

A. Yes; any friend of the person may do it, paying the postage that has accrued.

Q. But must not he pay an additional postage for the distance to such inland town?

A. No.

Q. Can the post-master answer delivering the letter, without being paid such additional postage?

A. Cer-

A. Certainly he can demand nothing, where he does no service.

Q. Suppose a person, being far from home, finds a letter in a post-office directed to him, and he lives in a place to which the post generally goes, and the letter is directed to that place; will the post-master deliver him the letter, without his paying the postage receivable at the place to which the letter is directed.

A. Yes; the office cannot demand postage for a letter that it does not carry, or farther than it does carry it.

Q. Are not ferrymen in America obliged, by act of parliament, to carry over the posts without pay?

A. Yes.

Q. Is not this a tax on the ferrymen?

A. They do not consider it as such, as they have an advantage from persons travelling with the post*.

Q. If the Stamp-Act should be repealed, and the crown should make a requisition to the colonies for a sum of money, would they grant it?

A. I believe they would.

Q. Why do you think so?

A. I can speak for the colony I live in; I had it in *instruction* from the assembly to assure the ministry, that as they always had done, so they should always think it their duty, to grant such aids to the crown as were suitable to their circumstances and abilities; whenever call-

* [The several persons travelling together, make *one* trouble. E.]
ed

ed upon for that purpose, in the usual constitutional manner; and I had the honour of communicating this instruction to that honourable gentleman then minister*.

Q. Would they do this for a *British* concern; as suppose a war in some part of Europe, that did not affect them?

A. Yes, for any thing that concerned the general interest. They consider themselves as part of the whole.

Q. What is the usual constitutional manner of calling on the colonies for aids?

A. A letter from the secretary of state.

* [I take the following to be the history of this transaction.

Until 1763, and the years following, whenever Great Britain wanted supplies directly from the colonies, the secretary of state, in his Majesty's name, sent them a letter of requisition, in which the occasion for the supplies was expressed; and the colonies returned a *free gift*, the mode of levying which *they* wholly preferred. At this period, a chancellor of the exchequer, (Mr. George Grenville) steps forth and says to the house of commons—*We must call for money from the colonies in the way of a tax;—* and to the colony-agents, *write to your several colonies; and tell them, if they dislike a duty upon stamps, and prefer any other method of raising the money themselves, I shall be content, provided the amount be but raised.* 'That is,' observed the colonies, when commenting upon his terms, 'if we will not tax ourselves, as *our* may be directed, the parliament will tax us.'—Dr Franklin's instructions, spoken of above, related to this gracious option.—As the colonies could not choose 'another tax,' while they disclaimed every tax; the parliament passed the Stamp-Act.

It seems that the only part of the offer which bore a shew of favour, was the grant of the *mode of levying*,—and this was the only circumstance which was *not new*.

See Mr. Mauduit's account of Mr. Grenville's conference with the agents, confirmed by the agents for Georgia and Virginia; and Mr. Burke's speech in 1774, P. 55. E.]

Q. Is this all you mean ; a letter from the secretary of state ?

A. I mean the usual way of requisition ; in a circular letter from the secretary of state, by his Majesty's command ; reciting the occasion, and recommending it to the colonies to grant such aids as became their loyalty, and were suitable to their abilities.

Q. Did the secretary of state ever write for money for the crown ?

A. The requisitions have been to raise, clothe and pay men, which cannot be done without money.

Q. Would they grant money alone, if called on ?

A. In my opinion they would, money as well as men ; when they have money, or can make it.

Q. If the parliament should repeal the Stamp-Act, will the assembly of Pennsylvania rescind their resolutions ?

A. I think not.

Q. Before there was any thought of the Stamp-Act, did they wish for a representation in parliament ?

A. No.

Q. Don't you know that there is, in the *Pennsylvania* charter, an express reservation of the right of parliament to lay taxes there ?

A. I know there is a clause in the charter, by which the King grants that he will levy no taxes on

on the inhabitants, unless it be with the consent of the assembly, *or* by act of parliament.

Q. How then could the assembly of Pennsylvania assert, that laying a tax on them by the Stamp-Act was an infringement of their rights?

A. They understand it thus: By the same charter, and otherwise, they are intitled to all the privileges and liberties of Englishmen: they find in the great charters, and the petition and declaration of rights, that one of the privileges of English subjects is, that they are not to be taxed but by their *common consent*; they have therefore relied upon it, from the first settlement of the province, that the parliament never would, nor could, by colour of that clause in the charter, assume a right of taxing them, *till* it had qualified itself to exercise such right; by admitting representatives from the people to be taxed, who ought to make a part of that common consent.

Q. Are there any words in the charter that justify that construction?

A. The common rights of Englishmen, as declared by Magna Charta, and the petition of right; all justify it.

Q. Does the distinction between internal and external taxes exist in the words of the charter?

A. No, I believe not.

Q. Then may they not, by the same interpretation, object to the parliament's right of external taxation?

A. They never *have* hitherto. Many arguments have been lately used here to shew them that

Q 9

that there is no difference, and that if you have no right to tax them internally, you have none to tax them externally, or make any other law to bind them. At present they do not reason so; but in time they may possibly be convinced by these arguments.

Q. Do not the resolutions of the Pennsylvania assembly say—all taxes?

A. If they do, they mean only internal taxes; the same words have not always the same meaning here and in the colonies. By taxes they mean internal taxes; by duties they mean customs; These are their ideas of the language.

Q. Have you not seen the resolutions of the Massachusetts Bay assembly?

A. I have.

Q. Do they not say, that neither external nor internal taxes can be laid on them by parliament?

A. I don't know that they do; I believe not.

Q. If the same colony should say neither tax nor imposition could be laid, does not that province hold the power of parliament can lay neither?

A. I suppose that by the word imposition, they do not intend to express duties to be laid on goods imported, as *regulations of commerce*.

Q. What can the colonies mean then by imposition as distinct from taxes?

A. They

A. They may mean many things; as impressing of men, or of carriages, quartering troops on private houses, and the like; there may be great impositions that are not properly taxes.

Q. Is not the post-office rate an internal tax laid by act of parliament?

A. I have answered that. Are all parts of the colonies equally able to pay taxes?

A. No, certainly; the frontier parts, which have been ravaged by the enemy, are greatly disabled by that means; and therefore, in such cases, are usually favoured in our tax-laws.

Q. Can we, at this distance, be competent judges of what favours are necessary?

A. The parliament have supposed it, by claiming a right to make tax-laws for America; I think it impossible.

Q. Would the repeal of the Stamp-Act be any discouragement of your manufactures? Will the people that have begun to manufacture decline it?

A. Yes, I think they will; especially if, at the same time, the trade is opened again, so that remittances can be easily made. I have known several instances that make it probable. In the war before last, tobacco being low, and making little remittance, the people of Virginia went generally into family-manufactures. Afterwards,

Q. 12

terwards, when tobacco bore a better price, they returned to the use of British manufactures. So fulling-mills were very much disused in the last war in Pennsylvania, because bills were then plenty, and remittances could easily be made to Britain for English cloth and other goods.

Q. If the Stamp-Act should be repealed, would it induce the assemblies of America to acknowledge the rights of parliament to tax them, and would they erase their resolutions?

A. No, never.

Q. Is there no means of obliging them to erase those resolutions?

A. None that I know of; they will never do it, unless compelled by force of arms.

Q. Is there a power on earth that can force them to erase them?

A. No power, how great soever, can force men to change their opinions.

Q. Do they consider the post-office as a tax, or as a regulation?

A. Not as a tax, but as a regulation, and convenience; *every assembly* encouraged it, and supported it in its infancy, by grants of money, which they would not otherwise have done; and the people have always paid the postage.

Q. When did you receive the instructions you mentioned?

A. I brought them with me, when I came to England, about fifteen months since.

Q. When did you communicate that instruction to the minister?

A. Soon after my arrival,—while the stamping of America was under consideration, and before the bill was brought in.

Q. Would it be most for the interest of Great Britain, to employ the hands of Virginia in tobacco, or in manufactures?

A. In tobacco, to be sure. Says Mr. Fox, "if we were to employ the hands of Virginia in manufactures, we should be employing the hands of the Americans."

Q. What used to be the pride of the Americans?

A. To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain.

Q. What is now their pride?

A. To wear their old clothes over again, till they can make new ones.

He now encouraged himself to wear new ones. He now encouraged himself to wear new ones.

As I know your intention, I shall not say more. I shall not say more.

Mr. Fox, "if we were to employ the hands of Virginia in tobacco, we should be employing the hands of the Americans."

He now encouraged himself to wear new ones. He now encouraged himself to wear new ones.

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To Dr. FRANKLIN*.

Dear SIR,

Nov. 21, 1769.

IN the many conversations we have had together about our present disputes with North America, we perfectly agreed in wishing they may be brought to a speedy and happy conclusion. How this is to be done, is not so easily ascertained.

Two objects, I humbly apprehend, his Majesty's servants have now in contemplation. 1st. To relieve the colonies from the taxes complained of, which they certainly had no hand in imposing. 2^{dly}, To preserve the honour, the dignity, and the supremacy of the British legislature over all his Majesty's dominions.

As I know your singular knowledge of the subject in question, and am as fully convinced of your cordial attachment to his Majesty, and your sincere desire to promote the happiness equally of all his subjects; I beg you would in your own clear, brief, and explicit manner, send me an answer to the following questions: I make this request now, because this matter is of the utmost importance, and must very quickly be agitated. And I do it with

* [These letters have often been copied into our public prints.—Mr. Strahan, the correspondent, is printer to the King, and now representative in parliament for Malmesbury in Wiltshire. An intimacy of long standing had subsisted between him and Dr. Franklin. E.]

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the more freedom, as you know me and my motives too well to entertain the most remote suspicion that I will make an improper use of any information you shall hereby convey to me.

1st. Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted, which was before paid here on exportation, and of course no new imposition) fully satisfy the colonists*? If you answer in the negative,

2d. Your reasons for that opinion?

3d. Do you think the only effectual way of composing the present differences, is to put the Americans precisely in the situation they were in before the passing of the late Stamp-Act?—If that is your opinion,

4th. Your reasons for that opinion?

5th. If this last method is deemed by the legislature, and his Majesty's ministers, to be repugnant to their duty, as guardians of the just

* [In the year 1767, for the express purpose of raising a revenue in America; glass, red-lead, white-lead, painters colours, paper, and tea (which last article was subject to various *home-impositions*) became charged by act of parliament, with new *permanent* duties payable in the *American ports*. Soon after, in the same sessions, (the East India Company promising indemnification for the experiment,) a *temporary* alteration was made with respect to the *home* customs or excise upon certain teas; in the hope that a deduction in the nominal imposition, by producing a more extended consumption, would give an increased sum to the exchequer. Mr. Strahan, comparing only the *amounts* of the imposed American duty, and the deducted home-duty, determines that the Americans had suffered no new imposition. The Americans, it seems, thought otherwise. Had we established this precedent for a revenue, we thought we had every thing to hope; yet we affect surprise, when the colonies avoided an acquiescence, which by parity of reasoning gave them every thing to fear. E.]

rights of the crown and of their fellow-subjects; can you suggest any other way of terminating these disputes consistent with the ideals of justice and propriety conceived by the King's subjects on both sides of the Atlantic?

6th. And if this method was actually followed, do you not think it would actually encourage the violent and factious part of the colonists to aim at still farther concessions from the mother-country?

7th. If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reasonable and dispassionate man, and an equal friend to both sides, imagine will be the probable consequences?

The answers to these questions, I humbly conceive, will include all the information I want; and I beg you will favour me with them as soon as may be. Every well-wisher to the peace and prosperity of the British empire, and every friend to our truly-happy constitution, must be desirous of seeing even the most trivial causes of disunion among our fellow-subjects removed. Our domestic squabbles, in my mind, are nothing to what I am speaking of. This you know much better than I do, and therefore I need add nothing farther to recommend this subject to your serious consideration. I am, with the most cordial esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your faithful and affectionate humble Servant,

W. S.

The

The ANSWER.

Dear SIR, *Craven Street, Nov. 29, 1769.*

BEING just returned to town from a little excursion, I find yours of the 21st, containing a number of queries that would require a pamphlet to answer them fully. You, however, desire only brief answers, which I shall endeavour to give.

Previous to your queries, you tell me, that ' you apprehend his Majesty's servants have now ' in contemplation, 1st. to relieve the colonists ' from the taxes complained of; 2. to preserve ' the honour, the dignity, and the supremacy ' of the British legislature over all his Majesty's ' dominions.' I hope your information is good: and that what you suppose to be in contemplation, will be carried into execution, by repealing all the laws that have been made for raising a revenue in America by authority of parliament without the consent of the people there. The honour and dignity of the British legislature will not be hurt by such an act of justice and wisdom. The wisest councils are liable to be misled, especially in matters remote from their inspection. It is the persisting in an error, not the correcting it, that lessens the honour of any man or body of men. The supremacy of that legislature, I believe, will be best preserved by making a very sparing

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use of it; never but for the evident good of the colonies themselves, or of the whole British empire; never for the partial advantage of Britain to their prejudice. By such prudent conduct, I imagine that supremacy may be gradually strengthened, and in time fully established; but otherwise, I apprehend it will be disputed, and lost in the dispute. At present the colonies consent and submit to it, for the regulations of general commerce; but a submission to acts of parliament was no part of their original constitution. Our former kings governed their colonies as they had governed their dominions in France, without the participation of British parliaments. The parliament of England never presumed to interfere in that prerogative till the time of the great rebellion, when they usurped the government of all the King's other dominions, Ireland, Scotland, &c. The colonies that held for the King, they conquered by force of arms, and governed afterwards as conquered countries: but New England having not opposed the parliament, was considered and treated as a sister-kingdom in amity with England (as appears by the Journals, *March* 10, 1642.)

1st. 'Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted, which was before paid here on exportation, and of course no new imposition) fully satisfy the colonists?'

Answer, I think not.

2d. 'Your reasons for that opinion?'

A. Because it is not the sum paid in that duty on tea that is complained of as a burden, but

the principle of the act expressed in the preamble; viz. That those duties were laid for the better support of government, and the administration of justice in the colonies*. This the colonists think unnecessary, unjust, and dangerous to their most important rights. *Unnecessary*, because in all the colonies (two or three new ones excepted†) government and the administration of justice were, and always had been, well supported without any charge to Britain: *unjust*, as it has made such colonies liable to pay such charge for others† in which they had no concern or interest: *dangerous*, as such mode of raising money for those purposes tended to render their assemblies useless; for if a revenue could be raised in the colonies for all the purposes of government by act of parliament, without grants from the people there, governors, who do not generally love assemblies, would never call them: they would be laid aside; and when nothing should depend on the people's good-will to government, their rights would be trampled on; they would be treated with contempt.—Another reason why I think they would not be satisfied with such a partial repeal, is, that their agree-

* ['Men may lose little property by an act which takes away all their freedom. When a man is robbed of a trifle on the highway, it is not the two-pence lost that makes the capital outrage.' 'Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave.' See Mr. Burke's speeches in 1774 and 1775. E.]

[† Nova Scotia, Georgia, the Floridas, and Canada. E.]

ments not to import till the repeal takes place, include the whole; which shews that they object to the whole; and those agreements will continue binding on them, if the whole is not repealed.

3d. 'Do you think the only effectual way of composing the present differences, is to put the Americans precisely in the situation they were in before the passing of the late stamp-act?'

A. I think so.

4th. 'Your reasons for that opinion?'

A. Other methods have been tried. They have been rebuked in angry letters. Their petitions have been refused or rejected by parliament. They have been threatened with the punishments of treason by resolves of both houses. Their assemblies have been dissolved, and troops have been sent among them: But all these ways have only exasperated their minds and widened the breach. Their agreements to use no more British manufactures have been strengthened; and these measures, instead of composing differences, and promoting a good correspondence, have almost annihilated your commerce with those countries, and greatly endanger the national peace and general welfare.

5th. 'If this last method is deemed by the legislature and his Majesty's ministers to be repugnant to their duty as guardians of the just rights of the crown, and of their fellow-subjects; can you suggest any other way of terminating these disputes, consistent with the ideas of justice and propriety conceived by the King's subjects on *both* sides the Atlantic?'

A. I do not see how that method can be deemed repugnant to the rights of the crown. If the Americans are put into their former situation, it must be by an act of parliament; in the passing of which by the King, the rights of the crown are exercised, not infringed. It is indifferent to the crown, whether the aids received from America are granted by parliament here, or by the assemblies there, provided the quantum be the same; and it is my opinion, that more will be generally granted there voluntarily, than can ever be exacted or collected from thence by authority of parliament.—As to the rights of fellow-subjects (I suppose you mean the people of Britain) I cannot conceive how those will be infringed by that method. They will still enjoy the right of granting their own money, and may still, if it pleases them, keep up their claim to the right of granting ours; a right they can never exercise properly, for want of a sufficient knowledge of us, our circumstances and abilities (to say nothing of the little likelihood there is that we should ever submit to it) therefore a right that can be of no good use to them; and we shall continue to enjoy in fact the right of granting our money, with the opinion now universally prevailing among us, that we are free subjects of the King, and that fellow-subjects of one part of his dominions are not sovereigns over fellow-subjects in any other part.—If the subjects on the different sides of the Atlantic have different and opposite ideas of “justice and
“pro--

"propriety," no one "method" can possibly be consistent with both. The best will be, to let each enjoy their own opinions, without disturbing them, when they do not interfere with the common good.

6th. 'And if this method were actually allowed, do you not think it would encourage the violent and factious part of the colonists to aim at still farther concessions from the mother-country?'

A. I do not think it would. There may be a few among them that deserve the name of factious and violent, as there are in all countries; but these would have little influence, if the great majority of sober reasonable people were satisfied. If any colony should happen to think that some of your regulations of trade are inconvenient to the general interest of the empire, or prejudicial to them without being beneficial to you; they will state these matters to parliament in petitions as heretofore; but will, I believe, take no violent steps to obtain what they may hope for in time from the wisdom of government here. I know of nothing else they can have in view: the notion that prevails here of their being desirous to set up a kingdom or commonwealth of their own, is, to my certain knowledge, entirely groundless. I therefore think, that on a total repeal of all duties, laid expressly for the purpose of raising a revenue on the people of America, without their consent, the present uneasiness would subside; the

the agreements not to import would be dissolved ; and the commerce flourish as heretofore ;—and I am confirmed in this sentiment by all the letters I have received from America, and by the opinions of all the sensible people who have lately come from thence, crown-officers excepted. I know, indeed, that the people of Boston are grievously offended by the quartering of troops among them, —as they think, contrary to law ; and are very angry with the Board of Commissioners who have calumniated them to government ;—but as I suppose the withdrawing of those troops may be a consequence of reconciling measures taking place ; and that the commission also will be either dissolved if found useless, or filled with more temperate and prudent men, if still deemed useful and necessary ; I do not imagine these particulars would prevent a return of the harmony so much to be wished *.

* ['The opposition [to Lord Rockingham's administration]' says Lord Chesterfield, 'are for taking vigorous, as they call them, but I call them violent measures ; not less than *les dragons* ; and to have the tax collected by the troops we have there. For my part, I never saw a froward child mended by whipping : and I would not have the mother become a step-mother.' Letter, No. 360.

'Is it a certain maxim,' pleads Mr. Burke, 'that the fewer causes of dissatisfaction are left by government, the more the subject will be inclined to resist and rebel ?' I confess I do not feel the least alarm from the discontents which are to arise from putting people at their ease. Nor do I apprehend the destruction of this empire ; from giving, by an act of free grace and indulgence, to two millions of my fellow-citizens, some share of those rights, upon which I have always been taught to value myself.' Speeches in 1774 and 1775. E.]

7th. ' If they are relieved in part only, what
' do you, as a reasonable and dispassionate man,
' and an equal friend to both sides, imagine
' will be the probable consequence ?'

A. I imagine, that repealing the offensive duties in part will answer no end to this country ; the commerce will remain obstructed, and the Americans go on with their schemes of frugality, industry, and manufactures, to their own great advantage. How much that may tend to the prejudice of Britain, I cannot say ; perhaps not so much as some apprehend, since she may in time find new markets *. But I think, if the union of the two countries continues to subsist, it will not hurt the general interest ; for whatever wealth Britain loses by the failing of its trade with the colonies, America will gain ; and the crown will receive equal aids from its subjects upon the whole, if not greater.

And now I have answered your questions as to what may be, in my opinion, the consequences of this or that supposed measure ; I will go a little further, and tell you what I fear is more likely to come to pass in *réality*. I apprehend that the ministry, at least the American part of it, being fully persuaded of the right of parliament ; think it ought to be enforced, whatever may be the consequences ; and at the same time do not believe, there is even now any abatement of the

* [Need I, at this period of the work point out marks of our author's candor and foresight ? E.]

trade between the two countries on account of these disputes, or that if there is, it is small, and cannot long continue. They are assured by the crown-officers in America, that manufactures are impossible there; that the discontented are few, and persons of little consequence; that almost all the people of property and importance are satisfied, and disposed to submit quietly to the taxing power of parliament; and that, if the revenue-acts are continued, and those duties only that are called anti-commercial be repealed, and others perhaps laid in their stead; power ere long will be patiently submitted to, and the agreements not to import be broken, when they are found to produce no change of measures here. From these and similar misinformations, which seem to be credited, I think it likely that no thorough redress of grievances will be afforded to America this Session. This may inflame matters still more in that country; farther rash measures there, may create more resentment here; that may produce not merely ill-advised dissolutions of their assemblies, as last year, but attempts to dissolve their constitution*; more troops may be sent over, which will create more uneasiness; to justify the measures of government, your writers will revile the Americans in your newspapers, as they have already begun to do; treating them as miscreants, rogues, dastards, rebels, &c. to alienate the minds of the people here from them, and which will tend

* [This was afterwards attempted by the British legislature, in the case of the Massachusetts Bay province. E.]

farther to diminish their affections to this country. Possibly too, some of their warm patriots may be distracted enough to expose themselves by some mad action to be sent for hither; and government here be indiscreet enough to hang them, on the act of Henry VIII †. Mutual provocations will thus go on to complete the separation; and instead of that cordial affection that once and so long existed, and that harmony so suitable to the circumstances, and so necessary to the happiness, strength, safety, and welfare of both countries; an implacable malice and mutual hatred, such as we now see subsisting between the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Genoese and Corsicans, from the same original misconduct in the superior governments, will take place: the sameness of nation, the similarity of religion, manners, and language, not in the least preventing in our case, more than it did in theirs.—I hope, however, that this may all prove false prophecy, and that you and I may live to see as sincere and perfect a friendship established between our respective countries, as has so many years subsisted between Mr. Strahan, and his truly affectionate old friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

† [The lords and commons very prudently concurred in an address for this purpose; and the king graciously assured them of his compliance with their wishes. E.]

A PRUSSIAN EDICT, &c.

Dantzick, Sept. 5, 1773.*

WE have long wondered here at the supineness of the *Englisch* nation, under the *Prussian* impositions upon its trade entering our port. We did not, till lately, know the claims, ancient and modern, that hang over that nation; and therefore could not suspect that it might submit to those impositions from a sense of duty, or from principles of equity. The following edict, just made public, may, if serious, throw some light upon this matter:

FREDERICK, by the grace of God, King of Prussia, &c. &c. to all present and to come †, health. The peace now enjoyed throughout Our dominions, having afforded us leisure to apply Ourselves to the regulation of commerce, the improvement of Our finances, and at the same time the easing Our *domestic* subjects in their taxes: for these causes, and other good considerations Us thereunto moving, We hereby make known, that, after having deliberated these affairs in Our council, present Our dear brothers, and other great officers of the state,

* [This *Intelligence extraordinary*, I believe, first appeared in the Public Advertiser. I have reprinted it from a copy which I found in the Gentleman's Magazine. E.]

† *A tous présens et à venir.* ORIGINAL.

‘ members of the same; We, of Our certain
‘ knowledge, full power, and authority royal,
‘ have made and issued this present edict, viz.

‘ Whereas it is well known to all the world,
‘ that the first *German* settlements made in the
‘ island of Britain, were by colonies of people,
‘ subject to Our renowned ducal ancestors, and
‘ drawn from their dominions, under the conduct
‘ of Hengist, Horsa, Hella, Uffa, Cerdicus, Ida,
‘ and others; And that the said colonies have
‘ flourished under the protection of Our august
‘ house, for ages past; have never been eman-
‘ cipated therefrom; and yet have hitherto yielded
‘ little profit to the same: And whereas We Our-
‘ self have in the last war fought for and defended
‘ the said colonies, against the power of France,
‘ and thereby enabled them to make conquests
‘ from the said power in America; for which We
‘ have not yet received adequate compensation:
‘ And whereas it is just and expedient that a re-
‘ venue should be raised from the said colonies in
‘ Britain, towards Our indemnification; and that
‘ those who are descendants of Our ancient sub-
‘ jects, and thence still owe Us due obedience,
‘ should contribute to the replenishing of Our
‘ royal coffers; (as they must have done, had their
‘ ancestors remained in the territories now to Us
‘ appertaining):—We do therefore hereby ordain
‘ and command, That, from and after the date
‘ of these presents, there shall be levied, and paid
‘ to Our officers of the *customs*, on all goods,
‘ wares, and merchandizes, and on all grain and
‘ other

other produce of the earth, exported from the
 said island of Britain, and on all goods of what-
 ever kind imported into the same; a duty of
 four and a half per cent. ad valorem, for the
 use of Us and Our successors.—And that the
 said duty may more effectually be collected, We
 do hereby ordain, that all ships or vessels bound
 from Great Britain to any other part of the
 world, or from any other part of the world to
 Great Britain, shall in their respective voyages
 touch at Our port of Koningberg, there to be
 unladen, searched, and charged with the said
 duties.

And whereas there hath been from time to
 time discovered in the said island of Great Britain,
 by our colonists there, many mines or beds of
 iron-stone; and sundry subjects of Our ancient
 dominion, skilful in converting the said stone
 into metal, have in time past transported them-
 selves thither, carrying with them and commu-
 nicating that art; and the inhabitants of the said
 island, presuming that they had a natural right
 to make the best use they could of the natural
 productions of their country, for their own be-
 nefit, have not only built furnaces for smelting
 the said stone into iron, but have erected pla-
 ting-forges, slitting-mills, and steel-furnaces, for
 the more convenient manufacturing of the same;
 thereby endangering a diminution of the said
 manufacture in Our ancient dominion;—We do
 therefore hereby farther ordain, That, from and
 after the date hereof, no mill or other engine for
 slitting

‘ sitting or rolling of iron, or any plating-forge
‘ to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for
‘ making steel, shall be erected or continued in
‘ the said island of Great Britain: And the Lord
‘ Lieutenant of every county in the said island is
‘ hereby commanded, on information of any such
‘ erection within his county, to order, and by
‘ force to cause the same to be abated and de-
‘ stroyed; as he shall answer the neglect thereof
‘ to Us at his peril.—But we are nevertheless gra-
‘ ciously pleased to permit the inhabitants of the
‘ said island to transport their iron into Prussia,
‘ there to be manufactured, and to them returned;
‘ they paying Our Prussian subjects for the work-
‘ manship, with all the costs of commission,
‘ freight, and risk, coming and returning; any
‘ thing herein contained to the contrary notwith-
‘ standing.

‘ We do not, however, think fit to extend this
‘ Our indulgence to the article of *wool*; but
‘ meaning to encourage not only the manufactur-
‘ ing of woollen cloth, but also the raising of wool,
‘ in Our ancient dominions; and to prevent both,
‘ as much as may be, in Our said island,—We do
‘ hereby absolutely forbid the transportation of
‘ wool from thence even to the mother-country,
‘ Prussia:—And that those islanders may be far-
‘ ther and more *effectually* restrained in making
‘ any advantage of their own wool, in the way of
‘ manufacture, We command that none shall be
‘ carried out of one county into another; nor
‘ shall any worsted, bay, or woollen-yarn, cloth,
‘ says,

' says, bays, kerseys, serges, frizes, druggets,
 ' cloth-serges, shalloons, or any other drapery
 ' stuffs, or woollen manufactures whatsoever,
 ' made up or mixed with wool in any of the said
 ' counties, be carried into any other county, or
 ' be water-borne even across the smallest river or
 ' creek; on penalty of forfeiture of the same, to-
 ' gether with the boats, carriages, horses, &c.
 ' that shall be employed in removing them.—
 ' Nevertheless, Our loving subjects there are
 ' hereby permitted (if they think proper) to use
 ' all their wool as manure, for the improvement
 ' of their lands.

' And whereas the art and mystery of making
 ' hats hath arrived at great perfection in Prussia;
 ' and the making of hats by Our remoter subjects
 ' ought to be as much as possible restrained: And
 ' forasmuch as the islanders before mentioned, be-
 ' ing in possession of wool, beaver, and other furs,
 ' have presumptuously conceived they had a right
 ' to make some advantage thereof, by manufac-
 ' turing the same into hats, to the prejudice of
 ' Our domestic manufacture:—We do therefore
 ' hereby strictly command and ordain, that no
 ' hats or felts whatsoever, dyed or undyed, fi-
 ' nished or unfinished, shall be loaden or put into
 ' or upon any vessel, cart, carriage, or horse;
 ' to be transported or conveyed out of one county
 ' in the said island into another county, or to any
 ' other place whatsoever, by any person or persons
 ' whatsoever; on pain of forfeiting the same, with
 ' a penalty of five hundred pounds sterling for
 ' every

every offence. Nor shall any hat-maker, in any of the said counties, employ more than two apprentices, on penalty of five pounds sterling per month: We intending hereby that such hatmakers, being so restrained, both in the production and sale of their commodity, may find no advantage in continuing their business.— But, lest the said islanders should suffer inconvenience by the want of hats, we are farther graciously pleased to permit them to send their beaver furs to Prussia; and We also permit hats made thereof to be exported from Prussia to Britain; the people thus favoured to pay all costs and charges of manufacturing, interest, commission to Our merchants, insurance and freight going and returning; as in the case of iron.

And lastly, being willing farther to favour our said colonies in Britain, We do hereby also ordain and command, that all the *thieves*, highway and street robbers, housebreakers, forgers, murderers, *s—d—tes*, and villains of every denomination, who have forfeited their lives to the law in Prussia; but whom We, in Our great clemency, do not think fit here to hang; shall be emptied out of Our gaols into the said island of Great Britain, for the better peopling of that country.

We flatter ourselves that these Our royal regulations and commands will be thought *just and reasonable* by Our much-favoured colonists in England; the said regulations being

[A: D. T.] *assuming Claims over Britain.* 321

'ing copied from their statutes of 10 and 11
' Will. III. c. 10.—5 Geo. II. c. 22.—23 Geo. II.
' c. 29.—4 Geo. I. c. 11. and from other equi-
' table laws made by their parliaments; or from
' instructions given by their princes, or from
' resolutions of both houses, entered into for
' the good government of their *own colonies in*
' *Ireland and America*, which *elques a fait* reveal
' And all persons in the said island are here-
' by cautioned not to oppose in any wise the
' execution of this Our edict, or any part thereof,
' such opposition being high-treason; of which
' all who are suspected shall be transported in
' fetters from Britain to Prussia, there to be tried
' and executed according to the Prussian law.

Such is Our pleasure.

' Given at Potsdam, this twenty-fifth day
' of the month of August, One thousand
' seven hundred and seventy-three, and in
' the thirty-third year of Our reign.

' By the King, in his council.

' RECHTMÆSSIG, Sec.'

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Some take this edict to be merely one of the King's *Jeux d'Esprit*: others suppose it serious, and that he means a quarrel with England: but all here think the assertion it concludes with, 'that these regulations are copied from acts of the *English* parliament respecting their colonies,' a very injurious one; It being impossible to believe, that a people distinguished for their love of liberty; a nation so wise, so liberal in its sentiments, so just and equitable towards its neighbours; should, from mean and injudicious views of petty immediate profit, treat its own children in a manner so arbitrary and tyrannical!

Such is Our Emancipation.

Given at Potsdam, this twenty-fifth day
of the month of August, One thousand
seven hundred and seventy-seven.

By the King, in his council.

PREFACE

PREFACE by the BRITISH EDITOR [Dr. Franklin]
to 'The votes and proceedings of the freeholders,
and other inhabitants of the town of Boston;
' in town-meeting assembled according to law
' (published by order of the town), &c.*

ALL accounts of the discontent so general in our colonies, have of late years been industriously smothered and concealed here; it seeming to suit the views of the American minister † to have it understood, that by his great abilities, all faction was subdued, all opposition suppressed, and the whole country quieted. That the true state of affairs there may be known, and the true causes of that discontent well understood; the following

* [Boston printed: London reprinted, and sold by J. Wilkie, in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1773.]—I have given the reader only the *preface*: I saw 1863.

It is said, that this little piece very much irritated the ministry. It was their determination, that the Americans should receive teas only from Great Britain. And accordingly the East India company sent out large cargoes under their protection. The colonists every where refused, either entrance, or else permission of sale; except at Boston; where, the force of government preventing more moderate measures, certain persons in disguise threw it into the sea.

The preamble of the stamp act produced the tea act; the tea act produced violence; violence, acts of parliament; acts of parliament, a revolt. — A little neglect, says *poor Richard*, may breed great mischief: for want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost; for want of a horse the rider was lost; being overtaken and slain by the enemy; all for want of a little care about a horse-shoe nail. E.]

† [Lord Hillsborough. — This nobleman, already first Lord of trade, was introduced in 1768 into the *new-filled* office of Secretary of state for the colonies. These posts have since gone together, *1768*.]

piece (not the production of a private writer, but the unanimous act of a large American city) lately printed in New England; is republished here. This nation, and the other nations of Europe, may thereby learn, with more certainty, the grounds of a diffension, that possibly may, sooner or later, have consequences interesting to them all.

The colonies had, from their first settlement, been governed with more ease, than perhaps can be equalled by any instance in history of dominions so distant. Their affection and respect for this country, while they were treated with kindness, produced an almost implicit obedience to the instructions of the Prince, and even to acts of the British parliament; though the right of binding them by a legislature, in which they were unrepresented, was never clearly understood. That respect and affection produced a partiality in favour of every thing that was English; Whence their preference of English modes and manufactures; their submission to restraints on the importation of foreign goods, which they had but little desire to use; and the monopoly we so long enjoyed of their commerce, to the great enriching of our merchants and artificers.—The mistaken policy of the stamp act first disturbed this happy situation; but the flame thereby raised was soon extinguished by its repeal, and the old harmony restored, with all its concomitant advantage to our commerce. The subsequent act of another administration, which, not content

tent with an established exclusion of foreign manufactures, began to make our own merchandize dearer to the consumers there, by heavy duties; revived it again: and combinations were entered into throughout the continent, to stop trading with Britain till those duties should be repealed. All were accordingly repealed but one—*the duty on tea*. This was reserved (professedly so) as a standing claim and exercise of the right assumed by parliament of laying such duties *.—The colonies, on this repeal, retracted their agreement, so far as related to all other goods, except that on which the duty was retained. This was trumpeted here by the minister for the colonies as a triumph; There it was considered only as a decent and equitable measure, shewing a willingness to meet the mother-country in every advance towards a reconciliation; and a disposition to a good understanding so prevalent, that possibly they might soon have relaxed in the article of tea also. But the system of commissioners of customs, officers without end, with fleets and armies for collecting and enforcing those duties, being continued; and these acting with much indiscretion and rashness, (giving great and unnecessary trouble and ob-

* [Mr. Burke tells us (in his speech in 1774) that this preambulatory tax had lost us at once the benefit of the west and of the east; had thrown open folding-doors to contraband; and would be the means of giving the profits of the colony-trade to every nation, but ourselves. He adds in the same place, 'It is indeed a tax of sophistry, a tax of pedantry, a tax of dissipation, a tax of war and rebellion, a tax for any thing but benefit to the imposters, or satisfaction to the subject.' E.]

struction to business, commencing unjust and vexatious suits, and harassing commerce in all its branches, while that the minister kept the people in a constant state of irritation by instructions which appeared to have no other end than the gratifying his private resentments*,) occasioned a persevering adherence to their resolutions in that particular: and the event should be a lesson to ministers, not to risk through pique, the obstructing any one branch of trade; since the course and connection of general business may be thereby disturbed to a degree, impossible to be foreseen or imagined. For it appears that the colonies, finding their humble petitions to have this duty repealed, were rejected and treated with contempt; and that the produce of the duty was applied to the rewarding, with undeserved salaries and pensions, every one of their enemies; the duty itself became more odious, and their resolution to share it more vigorous and obstinate.—The Dutch, the Danes, and French, took this opportunity thus offered them by our imprudence; and began to smuggle their teas into the plantations. At first this was something difficult; but at length, as all business is improved by practice, it became easy. A coast fifteen thousand miles in length could not in all parts be guarded, even by the whole navy of England; especially where their restraining authority was by all the inhabitants deemed un-

* Some of his circular letters had been criticized, and exposed by one or two of the American assemblies.

constitutional, the smuggling of course considered as patriotism. The needy wretches too, who, with small salaries, were trusted to watch the ports day and night, in all weathers, found it easier and more profitable, not only to wink, but to sleep in their beds; the merchants pay being more generous than the King's.—Other India goods also, which, by themselves, would not have made a smuggling voyage sufficiently profitable, accompanied tea to advantage; and it is feared the cheap French silks, formerly rejected as not to the taste of the colonies, may have found their way with the wares of India; and now established themselves in the popular use and opinion.

It is supposed that at least a million of Americans drink tea twice a day, which, at the first cost here, can scarce be reckoned, at less than half-a-guinea a head per annum. This market, that in the five years which have run on since the act passed, would have paid 2,500,000 guineas for tea alone, into the coffers of the company, we have wantonly lost to foreigners.—Meanwhile, it is said the duties have so diminished, that the whole remittance of the last year amounted to no more than the pitiful sum of 85l.* for the expence of some hundred thousands, in armed ships and soldiers, to support

* [‘ Eighty-five pounds I am assured, my lords, is the whole equivalent, we have received for all the hatred and mischief, and all the infinite losses this kingdom has suffered during that year, in her disputes with North America.’ See the Bishop of St. Asaph’s intended speech. E.]

the

the officers. Hence the tea, and other India goods, which might have been sold in America, remain rotting in the company's warehouses*; while those of foreign ports are known to be cleared by the American demand. Hence, in some degree, the company's inability to pay their bills; the sinking of their stock, by which millions of property have been annihilated; the lowering of their dividend, whereby so many must be distressed; the loss to government of the stipulated 400,000 l. a year†, which must make a proportionable reduction in our savings towards the discharge of our enormous debt: And hence in part the severe blow suffered by credit in general‡, to the ruin of many families; the stagnation of business in Spitalfields and at Manchester, through want of vent for their goods;—with other future evils, which, as they cannot, from the numerous and secret connections in general commerce, easily be foreseen, can hardly be avoided.

* [At this time they contained many millions of pounds of tea, including the usual stock on hand. Mr. Burke, in his speech in 1774, supposes that America might have given a vent for ten millions of pounds. This seems to have been the greater part of the whole quantity. E.]

† [On account of a temporary compromise of certain disputes with government. E.]

‡ [Seen in certain memorable mercantile failures in the year 1772. E.]

PROCEEDINGS AND EXAMINATION, &c.

To the Clerk of the Council in waiting.*

(Copy.)

SIR,

Whitehall, Dec. 3. 1773.

THE agent for the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay, [Dr. Franklin] having delivered to Lord Dartmouth, an address of that house to the King, signed by their speaker; complaining of the conduct of the Governor [Hutchinson] and Lieutenant Governor [Andrew Oliver] of that province, in respect to certain private

* [Governor Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor Andrew Oliver, Charles Paxton, Esq; Nathaniel Rogers, Esq; and Mr. G. Roome, having sent from Boston certain representations and informations to Thomas Whately, Esq; member of parliament, private Secretary to Mr. George Grenville (the father of the stamp act) when in office, and afterwards one of the Lords of trade; these letters were, by a particular channel, conveyed back to Boston. The assembly of the province were so much exasperated, that they returned home attested copies of the letters, accompanied with a petition and remonstrance, for the removal of Governor Hutchinson, and Lieutenant Governor Andrew Oliver, from their posts. The council of the province, likewise, on their part, entered into thirteen resolves, in tendency and import similar to the petition of the assembly; five of which resolves were unanimous, and only one of them had so many as three dissentients. In consequence of the assembly's petition, the above proceedings and examination took place.

Dr. Franklin having naturally a large share in these transactions, made still larger by the impolitic and indecent persecution of his character, I have exhibited the whole more at length, than I should otherwise have thought proper. E.]

U u

letters

letters written by them to their correspondent in England; and praying that they may be removed from their posts in that government: his Lordship hath presented the said address to his Majesty; and his Majesty having signified his pleasure, that the said address should be laid before his Majesty in his privy council, I am directed by Lord Dartmouth to transmit the same accordingly, together with a copy of the agent's letter to his Lordship, accompanying the said address.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) J. POWNALL.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of DARTMOUTH.

(Copy.)

My LORD, London, Aug. 21, 1773.

I HAVE just received from the house of representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, their address to the King; which I now inclose, and send to your Lordship; with my humble request in their behalf, that you would be pleased to present it to his Majesty the first convenient opportunity.

I have

I have the pleasure of hearing from that province by my late letters, that a sincere disposition prevails in the people there to be on good terms with the mother-country; that the assembly have declared their desire only to be put into the situation they were in before the stamp-act: *They aim at no novelties.* And it is said that having lately discovered, as they think, the authors of their grievances to be some of their own people; their resentment against Britain is thence much abated.

This good disposition of theirs (will your Lordship permit me to say) may be cultivated by a favourable answer to this address, which I therefore hope your goodness will endeavour to obtain.

With the greatest respect,

I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.

B. FRANKLIN,

Agent for the House of Representatives.

THE PETITION.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

Most gracious SOVEREIGN,

WE your Majesty's loyal subjects, the representatives of your ancient colony of Massachusetts Bay,

U u 2

Bay, in general court legally assembled, by virtue of your Majesty's writ under the hand and seal of the Governor; beg leave to lay this our humble petition before Majesty.

Nothing but the sense of duty we owe to our Sovereign, and the obligation we are under to consult the peace and safety of the province; could induce us to remonstrate to your Majesty [concerning] the mal-conduct of persons who have heretofore had the confidence and esteem of this people; and whom your Majesty has been pleased, from the purest motives of rendering your subjects happy, to advance to the highest places of trust and authority in the province.

Your Majesty's humble petitioners, with the deepest concern and anxiety, have seen the discords and animosities which have too long subsisted between your subjects of the parent-state and those of the American colonies. And we have trembled with apprehensions, that the consequences naturally arising therefrom, would at length prove fatal to both countries.

Permit us humbly to suggest to your Majesty, that your subjects here have been inclined to believe, that the grievances which they have suffered, and still continue to suffer; have been occasioned by your Majesty's ministers and principal servants being, unfortunately for us, *misinformed* in certain facts of very interesting importance to us. It is for this reason that former assemblies have, from time to time, prepared a true state of facts to be laid before your Majesty; but

but their humble remonstrances and petitions, it is presumed, have by some means been prevented from reaching your royal hand.

Your Majesty's petitioners have very lately had before them *certain papers*, from which they humbly conceive, it is most reasonable to suppose, that there has been long a conspiracy of evil men, in this province; who have contemplated measures and formed a plan to advance themselves to power, and raise their own fortunes; by means destructive of the charter of the province, at the expence of the quiet of the nation, and to the annihilating of the rights and liberties of the American colonies.

And we do with all due submission to your Majesty beg leave particularly to complain of the conduct of his Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq; Governor, and the Honourable Andrew Oliver, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of this your Majesty's province; as having a natural and efficacious tendency to interrupt and alienate the affections of your Majesty, our rightful Sovereign, from this your loyal province; to destroy that harmony and good-will between Great Britain and this colony, which every honest subject should strive to establish; to excite the resentment of the British administration against this province; to defeat the endeavours of our agents and friends to serve us by a fair representation of our state of facts; to prevent our humble and repeated petitions from reaching the ear of your Majesty, or having their desired effect. And finally, that the said Thomas Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver have been among the chief instru-

instruments in introducing a fleet and army into this province, to establish and perpetuate their plans; whereby they have been not only greatly instrumental [in] disturbing the peace and harmony of the government, and causing unnatural and hateful discords and animosities between the several parts of your Majesty's extensivedominions; but are justly chargeable with all that corruption of morals, and all that confusion, misery, and bloodshed, which have been the natural effects of posting an army in a populous town.

Wherefore we most humbly pray, that your Majesty would be pleased to remove from their posts in this government the said Thomas Hutchinson, Esquire, and Andrew Oliver, Esquire; who have, by their above-mentioned conduct, and otherwise, rendered themselves justly obnoxious to your loving subjects, and entirely lost their confidence: and place such good and faithful men in their stead as your Majesty in your wisdom shall think fit.

In the name and by order of the house of
representatives,

THOMAS CUSHING, *Speaker.*

*To the Lords Committee of his Majesty's Privy
Council for Plantation Affairs.*

The PETITION of ISRAEL MAUDUIT,

Humbly sheweth unto your Lordships,

THAT having been informed that an address, in the name of the House of Representatives of his Majesty's colony of Massachusetts Bay, has been presented to his Majesty by Benjamin Franklin, Esquire, praying the removal of his Majesty's Governor and Lieutenant Governor; which is appointed to be taken into consideration on Thursday next; your Petitioner, on the behalf of the said Governor and Lieutenant Governor, humbly prays, that he may be heard by counsel in relation to the same, before your Lordships shall make any report on the said address.

Clements Lane,
Jan. 10, 1775.

ISRAEL MAUDUIT.

*The Examination of Dr. FRANKLIN, at the
COUNCIL CHAMBER, Jan. 11, 1774*.
Present, Lord President, the Secretaries of*

* [The Editor has taken this examination from Mr. Mauduit's copy of *the Letters of Governor Hutchinson, &c.* second edition, 1774, p. 77. He has Mr. Mauduit's authority for supposing it faithfully represented. E.]

State,

State, and many other Lords; Dr. Franklin and Mr. Bolland; Mr. Mauduit and Mr. Wedderburn.

[*Dr. Franklin's Letter and the Address, Mr. Pownall's Letter, and Mr. Mauduit's Petition, were read.*]

Mr. Wedderburn. The address mentions certain papers: I could wish to be informed what are those papers.

Dr. Franklin. They are the letters of Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver.

Court. Have you brought them?

Dr. Franklin. No; but here are attested copies.

Court. Do you mean to found a charge upon them? if you do, you must produce the letters.

Dr. Franklin. These copies are attested by several Gentlemen at Boston, and a Notary Public.

Mr. Wedderburn. My Lords, we shall not take advantage of any imperfection in the proof. We admit that the letters are Mr. Hutchinson's and Mr. Oliver's hand writing: reserving to ourselves the right of inquiring how they were obtained.

Dr. Franklin. I did not expect that counsel would have been employed on this occasion.

Court. Had you not notice sent you of Mr. Mauduit's having petitioned to be heard by counsel?

fel on behalf of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor.

Dr. Franklin. I did receive such notice; but I thought this had been a matter of *politics*, not of law, and have not brought my counsel.

Court. Where a charge is brought, the parties have a right to be heard by counsel or not, as they choose.

Mr. Mauduit. My Lords, I am not a native of that country, as these Gentlemen are. If I know well Dr. Franklin's abilities, and wish to put the defence of my friends more upon a parity with the attack; he will not therefore wonder that I choose to appear before your Lordships with the assistance of counsel. My friends, in their letters to me, have desired (if any proceedings, as they say, should be had upon this address) that they may have a hearing in their own justification, that their innocence may be fully cleared, and their honour vindicated; and have made provision accordingly. I do not think myself at liberty therefore to give up the assistance of my counsel, in defending them against this unjust accusation.

Court. Dr. Franklin may have the assistance of counsel, or go on without it, as he shall choose.

Dr. Franklin. I desire to have counsel.

Court. What time do you want?

Dr. Franklin. Three Weeks.

X x

Ordered

Ordered that the further proceedings be on Saturday 29th Instant.*

* [The privy council accordingly met on the 29th of January, 1774; when Mr. Dunning and Mr. John Lee appeared as counsel for the assembly, and Mr. Wedderburne as counsel for the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Wedderburne was very long in his answer; which chiefly related to the mode of obtaining and sending away Mr. Whately's letters; and spoke of Dr. Franklin in terms of abuse, which never escape from one gentleman towards another.—In the event, the committee of the privy council made a report, in which was expressed the following opinion. 'The Lords of the committee do agree humbly to report, as their opinion to your Majesty, that the petition is founded upon resolutions formed on false and erroneous allegations; and is groundless, vexatious, and scandalous; and calculated only for the seditious purposes of keeping up a spirit of clamour and discontent in the said province. And the Lords of the committee do further humbly report to your Majesty, that nothing has been laid before them which does or can, in their opinion, in any manner, or in any degree, impeach the honour, integrity, or conduct of the said Governor or Lieutenant Governor; and their Lordships are humbly of opinion, that the said petition ought to be dismissed.'

Feb. 7th, 1774. 'His Majesty taking the said report into consideration, was pleased, with the advice of his privy council, to approve thereof; and to order that the said petition of the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay be dismissed the board—as groundless, vexatious, and scandalous; and calculated only for the seditious purpose of keeping up a spirit of clamour and discontent in the said province.'—A former petition against Governor Bernard met with a dismissal couched in similar terms. E.]

Account

*Account of Governor Hutchinson's Letters, &c.**To the Printer of the PUBLIC ADVERTISER*.*

SIR,

FINDING that two Gentlemen have been unfortunately engaged in a duel about a transaction and its circumstances, of which both of them are totally ignorant and innocent; I think it incumbent upon me to declare (for the prevention of farther mischief, as far as such a declaration may contribute to prevent it) that I alone am the person who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question. Mr. W. could not communicate them, because they were never in his possession; and for the same reason, they could not be taken from him by

* [Some letters had passed in the public prints between Mr. Thomas Whately's brother and Mr. John Temple, concerning the manner in which the letters of Governor Hutchinson, &c. had escaped from among the papers of Mr. Thomas Whately, at this time deceased.

The one Gentleman wished to avoid the charge of having given them; the other, of having taken them. At length the dispute became so personal and pointed, that Mr. Temple thought it necessary to call the brother into the field. The letter of provocation appeared in the morning, and the parties met in the afternoon. Dr. Franklin was not then in town; it was after some interval that he received the intelligence. What had passed he could not foresee; he endeavoured to prevent what still might follow. E.]

X x 2

Mr.

Mr. T.—They were not of the nature of *private* letters between friends*. They were written by public officers to persons in public stations, on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures; they were therefore handed to other public persons who might be influenced by them to produce those measures. Their tendency was to incense the mother-country against her colonies, and, by the steps recommended, to widen the breach; which they effected.—The chief caution expressed with regard to privacy, was, to keep their contents from the colony agents; who the writers apprehended might return them, or copies of them to America. That apprehension was, it seems, well founded; for the first agent who laid his hands on them, thought it his duty to transmit them to his constituents†.

Crown Street,
Dec. 25, 1773.

B. FRANKLIN,

*Agent for the House of Representatives
of the Massachusetts's Bay.*

* [Perhaps it is proper to call these letters only *secre*t letters. The facts and advice they contained had the most direct relation to the *public*; and the only part of the letters that could strictly be said to be *private*, was the family history that was naturally here and there interperfered on the same sheet of paper, from family connection in the writers. E.]

† [It was in consequence of this letter that Mr. Wedderburne ventured to make the most odious personal applications. Mr. Maesdine has prudently omitted part of them, in his account of the proceedings before the privy council. They are given here altogether however

ever (as well as they could be collected,) to mark the politics of the times, and the nature of the censures passed in England upon Dr. Franklin's character.

The letters could not have come to Dr. Franklin, said Mr. Wedderburn, by fair means. The writers did not give them to him; nor yet did the deceased correspondent, who from our intimacy would otherwise have told me of it: Nothing then will acquit Dr. Franklin of the charge of obtaining them by fraudulent or corrupt means, for the most malignant of purposes; unless he stole them, from the person who stole them. This argument is irrefragable.

I hope, my lords, you will mark [and brand] the man, for the honour of this country, of Europe, and of mankind. Private correspondence has hitherto been held sacred, in times of the greatest party rage, not only in politics but religion. — He has forfeited all the respect of societies and of men. Into what companies will he hereafter go with an uncumbered face, or the honest integrity of virtue. Men will watch him with a jealous eye; they will hide their papers from him, and lock up their escrutoires. He will henceforth esteem it a libel to be called a *man of letters*;

homo trium literarum!

But he not only took away the letters from one brother; but kept himself concealed till he nearly occasioned the murder of the other. It is impossible to read his account, expressive of the coolest and most deliberate malice, without horror. [Here he read the letter above; Dr. Franklin being all the time present.]

Amidst these tragical events, of one person nearly murdered, of another answerable for the issue, of a worthy governor hurt in his dearest interests, the fate of America in suspense; here is a man, who with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all. I can compare it only to Zanga in Dr. Young's *Revenge* †.

Know then 'twas — I:

"I forged the letter, I disposed the picture;

"I hated, I despised, and I destroy."

I ask, my Lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed, by poetic fiction only, to the bloody African; is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American?

These pleadings for a time worked great effect: The lords assented, the town was convinced, Dr. Franklin was disgraced ‡, and

* i. e. FUR (or *thief*).

† Act Vth.

‡ He was dismissed from his place in the post-office.

Mr. Wedderburn seemed in the road for every kind of advancement.—Unfortunately for Mr. Wedderburn, the events of the war did not correspond with his systems. Unfortunately too for his “irrefragable argument,” Dr. Franklin afterwards took an oath in chancery; that at the time that he transmitted the letters, he was ignorant of the party to whom they had been addressed; having himself received them from a third person, and for the express purpose of their being conveyed to America. Unfortunately also for Mr. Wedderburn’s “worthy governor,” that governor himself, before the arrival of Dr. Franklin’s packet in Boston, sent over one of Dr. Franklin’s own “private” letters to England; expressing some little coyness indeed upon the occasion, but desiring secrecy, lest he should be prevented procuring *more* useful intelligence from the same source. Whether Mr. Wedderburn in his speech intended to draw a particular case and portraiture, for the purpose only of injuring Dr. Franklin; or meant that his language and epithets should apply generally to all, whether friends or foes, whose practice should be found familiar to it; is a matter that must be left to be adjusted between governor Hutchinson and Mr. Wedderburn.

But to return to Dr. Franklin. It was not singular perhaps that as a man of honour, he should surrender his name to public scrutiny in order to prevent mischief to others, and yet not betray his coadjutor (even to the present moment,) to relieve his own fame from the severest obloquy; but perhaps it belonged to few besides Dr. Franklin, to possess mildness and magnanimity enough, to refrain from intemperate expressions and measures, against Mr. Wedderburn and his supporters, after all that had passed. E.]

* A copy of the proceedings in chancery has been in my possession; but being at present mislaid, I speak only from memory here.

† See the *Remembrancer* for the year 1776, part 2d. p. 61. col. 1st. and 2d.

*RULES for reducing a Great Empire to a small one; presented to a late Minister, when he entered upon his Administration *.*

AN ancient sage valued himself upon this, that though he could not fiddle, he knew how to make a great city of a little one. The science that I, a modern Simpleton, am about to communicate, is the very reverse.

I address myself to all ministers who have the management of extensive dominions, which from their very greatness are become troublesome to govern—because the multiplicity of their affairs leaves no time for fiddling.

I. In the first place, gentlemen, you are to consider, that a great empire, like a great cake, is most easily diminished at the edges. Turn your attention therefore first to your *remotest* provinces; that, as you get rid of them, the next may follow in order.

II. That the possibility of this separation may always exist, take special care the provinces are

* [These rules first appeared in a London newspaper about the beginning of the year 1774. and have several times since been introduced into our public prints.—The minister alluded to is supposed to be the Earl of H——h.]

‘The causes and motions of seditions (says Lord Bacon) are, innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate, and whatsoever in offending people joineth and kniteth them in a common cause.’ E.]

never incorporated with the mother-country; that they do not enjoy the same common rights, the same privileges in commerce; and that they are governed by severer laws, all of your enacting, without allowing them any share in the choice of the legislators. By carefully making and preserving such distinctions, you will (to keep to my simile of the cake) act like a wise gingerbread-baker; who, to facilitate a division, cuts his dough half through in those places, where, when baked, he would have it broken to pieces.

III. Those remote provinces have perhaps been acquired, purchased, or conquered, at the sole expence of the settlers, their ancestors; without the aid of the mother-country. If this should happen to increase her strength, by their growing numbers, ready to join in her wars; her commerce, by their growing demand for her manufactures; or her naval power, by greater employment for her ships and seamen, They may probably suppose some merit in this, and that it entitles them to some favour; you are therefore to *forget it all, or resent it* as if they had done you injury.

—If they happen to be zealous whigs, friends of liberty, nurtured in revolution principles; remember all that to their prejudice, and contrive to punish it: for such principles, after a revolution is thoroughly established, are of no more use; they are even odious and abominable.

IV. However peaceably your colonies have submitted to your government, shewn their affection to your interests, and patiently borne their

their grievances; you are to suppose them *always inclined to revolt*, and treat them accordingly. Quarter troops among them, who by their insolence may provoke the rising of mobs, and by their bullets and bayonets suppress them.—By this means, like the husband who uses his wife ill from suspicion, you may in time convert your suspicions into realities.

V. Remote provinces must have governors and judges, to represent the royal person, and execute every where the delegated parts of his office and authority. You ministers know that much of the strength of government depends on the opinion of the people; and much of that opinion on the *choice of rulers* placed immediately over them. If you send them wise and good men for governors, who study the interest of the colonists, and advance their prosperity; if they will think their king wise and good, and that he wishes the welfare of his subjects. If you send them learned and upright men for judges, they will think him a lover of justice.—This may attach your provinces more to his government. You are therefore to be careful who you recommend for those offices.—If you can find prodigals who have ruined their fortunes, broken gamesters or stock-jobbers; these may do well as Governors; for they will probably be rapacious, and provoke the people by their extortions. Wrangling proctors and pettyfogging lawyers too are not amiss; for they will be for ever disputing and quarrelling with their little parliaments.

ments. If withal they should be ignorant, wrong-headed and insolent, so much the better.—Attorneys clerks and Newgate solicitors will do for Chief-Justices, especially if they hold their places during your pleasure:—And all will contribute to impress those ideas of your government that are proper for a people you would wish to renounce it.

VI. To confirm these impressions, and strike them deeper, whenever the injured come to the capital with complaints of mal-administration, oppression, or injustice; *punish such suitors* with long delay, enormous expence, and a final judgment in favour of the oppressor. This will have an admirable effect every way. The trouble of future complaints will be prevented; and governors and judges will be encouraged to farther acts of oppression and injustice; and thence the people may become more disaffected; And at length desperate.

VII. When such governors have crammed their coffers, and made themselves so odious, to the people that they can no longer remain among them with safety to their persons; *recall and reward* them with pensions. You may make them baronets too, if that respectable order should not think fit to resent it. All will contribute to encourage new governors in the same practice; and make the supreme government detestable.

VIII. If when you are engaged in war, your colonies should vie in liberal aids of men and money against the common enemy, upon your simple requisition,

requisition, and give far beyond their abilities,—reflect that a penny taken from them by your power, is more honourable to you than a pound presented by their benevolence; *despise therefore their voluntary grants*, and resolve to harass them with *novel taxes*.—They will probably complain to your parliament that they are taxed by a body in which they have no representative, and that this is contrary to common right. They will petition for redress. Let the parliament flout their claims, reject their petitions, refuse even to suffer the reading of them, and treat the petitioners with the utmost contempt.—Nothing can have a better effect in producing the alienation proposed; for though many can forgive injuries, none ever forgave contempt.

IX. In laying these taxes, *never regard the heavy burthens* those remote people already undergo; in defending their own frontiers, supporting their own provincial government, making new roads, building bridges, churches, and other public edifices; which in old countries have been done to your hands, by your ancestors; but which occasion constant calls and demands on the purses of a new people.—Forget the restraint you lay on their trade for your own benefit, and the advantage a monopoly of this trade gives your exacting merchants. Think nothing of the wealth those merchants and your manufacturers acquire by the colony commerce; their increased ability thereby to pay taxes at home; their accumulating in the price of their commodities, most of those taxes, and

and so levying them from their consuming customers: all this, and the employment and support of thousands of your poor by the colonists, you are entirely to forget.—But remember to make your arbitrary tax more grievous to your provinces, by public declarations importing that your power of taxing them has *no limits*, so that when you take from them without their consent a shilling in the pound, you have a clear right to the other nineteen. This will probably weaken every idea of security in their property, and convince them, that under such a government they have nothing they can call their own; which can scarce fail of producing the happiest consequences!

X. Possibly indeed some of them might still comfort themselves, and say, ‘ Though we have no property, we have yet something left that is valuable; we have constitutional *liberty both of person and of conscience*. This King, these Lords, and these Commons, who it seems are too remote from us to know us and feel for us, cannot take from us our habeas corpus right, or our right of trial by a jury of our neighbours: they cannot deprive us of the exercise of our religion, alter our ecclesiastical constitution, and compel us to be papists, if they please, or Mahometans.’—To annihilate this comfort, begin by laws to perplex their commerce with infinite regulations, impossible to be remembered and observed: ordain seizures of their property for every failure; take away the trial of such property by jury,

jury, and give it to arbitrary judges of your own appointing, and of the lowest characters in the country, whose salaries and emoluments are to arise out of the duties or condemnations, and whose appointments are during pleasure.—Then let there be a formal declaration of both houses, that opposition to your edicts is treason, and that persons suspected of treason in the provinces may, according to some obsolete law, be seized and sent to the metropolis of the empire for trial; and pass an act, that those there charged with certain other offences, shall be sent away in chains from their friends and country to be tried in the same manner for felony. Then erect a new court of inquisition among them, accompanied by an armed force, with instructions to transport all such suspected persons; to be ruined by the expence, if they bring over evidences to prove their innocence; or be found guilty and hanged if they cannot afford it.—And lest the people should think you cannot possibly go any farther, pass another solemn declaratory act, ‘that King, Lords, and Commons, had, have, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the unrepresented provinces *in all cases whatsoever*.’ This will include spiritual with temporal, and taken together, must operate wonderfully to your purpose; by convincing them, that they are at present under a power something like that spoken of in the scriptures, which can not only kill their bodies, but damn their

their souls to all eternity, by compelling them, if it pleases, to worship the devil.

XI. To make your taxes more odious, and more likely to procure resistance; send from the capital a *board of officers* to superintend the collection, *composed of the most indiscreet, ill-bred, and insolent you can find.* Let these have large salaries out of the extorted revenue, and live in open grating luxury upon the sweat and blood of the industrious; whom they are to worry continually with groundless and expensive prosecutions before the above-mentioned arbitrary revenue-judges; all at the cost of the party prosecuted, though acquitted, because the King is to pay no costs.—Let these men by your order be exempted from all the common taxes and burthens of the province, though they and their property are protected by its laws.—If any revenue officers are suspected of the least tenderness for the people, discard them. If others are justly complained of, protect and reward them. If any of the under officers behave so as to provoke the people to drub them, promote those to better offices: this will encourage others to procure for themselves such profitable drubbings, by multiplying and enlarging such provocations, and all will work towards the end you aim at.

XII. Another way to make your tax odious, is to *misapply the produce of it.* If it was originally appropriated for the defence of the provinces, and the better support of government, and

and the administration of justice where it may be necessary; then apply none of it to that defence; but bestow it where it is not necessary, in augmenting salaries or pensions to every governor who has distinguished himself by his enmity to the people, and by calumniating them to their sovereign. This will make them pay it more unwillingly, and be more apt to quarrel with those that collect it and those that imposed it; who will quarrel again with them; and all shall contribute to your own purpose, of making them weary of your government.

XIII. If the people of any province have been accustomed to *support their own governors and judges* to satisfaction, you are to apprehend that such governors and judges may be thereby influenced to treat the people kindly, and to do them justice. This is another reason for applying part of that revenue in larger salaries to such governors and judges, given, as their commissions are, during *your* pleasure only; forbidding them to take any salaries from their provinces; And thus the people may no longer hope any kindness from their Governors, or (in crown cases) any justice from their judges.—And as the money thus misapplied in one province is extorted from all, probably all will resent the misapplication.

XIV. If the parliaments of your provinces should dare to claim rights, or complain of your administration; order them to be harassed with *repeated dissolutions*.—If the same men are continually returned by new elections; adjourn their meetings

meetings to some country village, where they can not be accommodated, and there keep them during pleasure; for this, you know, is your prerogative; and an excellent one it is, as you may manage it to promote discontents among the people, diminish their respect, and increase their disaffection.

XV. Convert the brave honest officers of your navy, into pimping tide-waiters and colony officers of the *bussens*. Let those who in time of war fought gallantly in defence of the commerce of their countrymen, in peace be taught to prey upon it. Let them learn to be corrupted by great and real smugglers; But (to shew their diligence) scour with armed boats every bay, harbour, river, creek, cove, or nook throughout the coast of your colonies; stop and detain every coaster, every wood-boat, every fisherman; tumble their cargoes and even their ballast inside out, and upside down; And if a pennyworth of pins is found un-entered, let the whole be seized and confiscated. Thus shall the trade of your colonists suffer more from their friends in time of peace, than it did from their enemies in war.—Then let these boats' crews land upon every farm in their way, rob their orchards, steal their pigs and poultry, and insult the inhabitants. If the injured and exasperated farmers, unable to procure other justice, should attack the aggressors, drub them, and burn their boats; you are to call this *high treason and rebellion*, order fleets and armies into their country, and threaten to carry all the offenders three thousand

land miles to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.
—O! this will work admirably!

XVI. If you are told of *discontents* in your colonies, never believe that they are general, or that you have given occasion for them; therefore do not think of applying any remedy, or of changing any offensive measure.—Redress no grievance, lest they should be encouraged to demand the redress of some other grievance. Grant no request that is just and reasonable, lest they should make another that is unreasonable.—Take all your informations of the state of the colonies from your governors and officers in enmity with them. Encourage and reward these leasing-makers; secrete their lying accusations, lest they should be confuted; but act upon them as the clearest evidence;—And believe nothing you hear from the friends of the people. Suppose all *their* complaints to be invented and promoted by a few factious demagogues, whom if you could catch and hang, all would be quiet.—Catch and hang a few of them accordingly; and the blood of the martyrs shall work miracles in favour of your purpose*.

* [One of the American writers affirms, 'That there has not been a single instance in which *they* have complained, without being rebuked; or in which they have been complained *against*, without being punished.'—A fundamental mistake in the minister occasioned this. Every individual in New England (the peccant country) was held a coward or a knave, and the disorders which spread abroad there, were treated as the result of the *too great lenity* of Britain! By the aid of this short and benevolent rule, judgment was ever wisely predetermined; to the shutting out redress on the one hand, and enforcing every rigour of punishment on the other. E.]

XVII. If you see *rival nations* rejoicing at the prospect of your disunion with your provinces, and endeavouring to promote it; if they translate, publish and applaud all the complaints of your discontented colonists, at the same time privately stimulating you to severer measures; let not that alarm or offend you. Why should it? since you all mean the same thing.

XVIII. If any colony should at *their own charge erect a fortress* to secure their port against the fleets of a foreign enemy, get your governor to betray that fortress into your hands. Never think of paying what it cost the country, for that would look, at least, like some regard for justice; but turn it into a citadel, to awe the inhabitants and curb their commerce. If they should have lodged in such fortresses the very arms they bought and used to aid you in your conquests, seize them all; it will provoke like ingratitude added to robbery.—One admirable effect of these operations will be, to discourage every other colony from erecting such defences, and so their and your enemies may more easily invade them; to the great disgrace of your government, and of course the furtherance of your project.

XIX. Send armies into their country under pretence of protecting the inhabitants; but, instead of garrisoning the forts on their frontiers with those troops, to prevent incursions, demolish those forts; and order the troops into the heart of the country, that the savages may be
encou-

encouraged to attack the frontiers*, and that the troops may be protected by the inhabitants: this will seem to proceed from your *ill-will or your ignorance*, and contribute farther to produce and strengthen an opinion among them, that you are no longer fit to govern them †.

XX. Lastly, invest the *general of your army in the provinces*, with great and unconstitutional powers, and free him from the controul of even your own civil governors. Let him have troops now ‡ under his command, with all the fortresses in his possession; and who knows but (like some provincial generals in the Roman empire, and encouraged by the universal discontent you have

* [I am not versed in Indian affairs, but I find that in April 1773, the assembled chiefs of the western nations told one of our Indian agents, 'that they remembered their father, the King of Great Britain's message, delivered to them last fall; of demolishing Fort Pittsburg [on the Ohio] and removing the soldiers with their sharp-edged weapons out of the country'—this gave them great pleasure, as it was a strong proof of his paternal kindness towards them.' (See *Considerations on the Agreement with Mr. T. Walpole for Lands upon the Ohio*, p. 9.) This is general history: I attempt no application of facts, personally inviolous. E.]

† [As the reader may be inclined to divide his belief between the wisdom of ministry, and the candor and veracity of Dr. Franklin, I shall inform him that two contrary objections may be made to the truth of this representation. The first is, that the conduct of Great Britain is made *too* absurd for possibility; and the second, that it is not made absurd *enough* for fact. If we consider that this piece does not include the measures subsequent to 1773, the latter difficulty is easily set aside. The former, I can only solve by the many instances in history, where the infatuation of individuals has brought the heaviest calamities upon nations. E.]

‡ [i. e. In the situation and crisis into which things will *now* have been brought. E.]

produced) he may take it into his head to set up for himself? If he should, and you have carefully practised these few excellent rules of mine, take my word for it, all the provinces will immediately join him;—and you will that day (if you have not done it sooner) get rid of the trouble of governing them, and all the plagues attending their commerce and connection from thenceforth and for ever.

Intended

Intended Vindication and Offer from Congress to
Parliament, in 1775*.

FORASMUCH as the enemies of America in the parliament of Great Britain, to render us odious to the nation, and give an ill impression of us in the minds of other European powers, have represented us as unjust and ungrateful in the highest degree;—Asserting on every occasion, that the colonies were settled at the expence of Britain;—that they were at the expence of the same, protected in their infancy;—that they now ungratefully and unjustly refuse to contribute to their own protection, and the common defence of the nation;—that they aim at independence; that they intend an abolition of the navigation acts;—and that they are fraudulent in their commercial dealings, and purpose to cheat their creditors in Britain, by avoiding the payment of their just debts:—

[And] as by frequent repetition these groundless assertions and malicious calumnies may, if not contradicted and refuted, obtain farther credit, and be injurious throughout Europe to the reputation and interest of the confederate colonies; it seems proper and necessary to examine them in our own just vindication.

* The following paper was drawn up in a committee of congress, June 25, 1775; but does not appear on their minutes; a severe act of parliament which arrived about that time having determined them not to give the sum proposed in it.—[It was first printed in the *Public Advertiser* for July 18, 1777, No. 13,346. E.]

With

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With regard to the first, *that the colonies were settled at the expence of Britain*, it is a known fact, that none of the twelve united colonies were settled, or even discovered, at the expence of England.—Henry the VIIth indeed granted a commission to Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, and his sons; to sail into the western seas for the discovery of new countries; but it was to be “*suis eorum propriis sumptibus et expensis*,” at their *own* costs and charges *. They discovered, but soon slighted and neglected, these northern territories; which were after more than a hundred years dereliction purchased of the natives, and settled at the charge and by the labour of private men and bodies of men, our ancestors, who came over hither for that purpose.—But our adversaries have never been able to produce any record, that ever the *parliament* or government of England was at the smallest expence on these accounts; on the contrary, there exists on the journals of parliament a solemn declaration in 1642, (only twenty-two years after the first settlement of the Massachusetts, when, if such expence had ever been incurred, some of the members must have known and remembered it,) “That these colonies had been planted and established *without any expence to the state* †.” — *New-York* is the only colony

* See the Commission in the Appendix to Pownall's Administration of the Colonies. Edit. 1775.

† “Veneris, 10 March, 1642. Whereas the plantations in New-England have, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success, *without any public charge to this state*; and are
“ now

colony in the founding of which England can pretend to have been at any expence; and that was only the charge of a small armament to take it from the Dutch, who planted it. But to retain this colony at the peace, another at that time full as valuable, planted by private countrymen of *ours*, was given up by the crown to the Dutch in exchange, viz. Surinam, now a wealthy sugar-colony in Guiana, and which but for that cession might still have remained in our possession.—Of late, indeed, Britain has been at some expence in planting two colonies, *Georgia*† and *Nova-Scotia*; but those are not in our confederacy; and the expence she has been at in their name, has chiefly been in grants of sums unnecessarily large, by way of salaries to officers sent from England, and in jobs to friends, whereby dependants might be provided for; those excessive grants not being requisite to the welfare and good government of the colonies; Which good government (as experience in many instances of other colonies has taught us) may be much more frugally, and full as effectually, provided for and supported.

With regard to the second assertion, *That these colonies were protected in their infant state by England*; it is a notorious fact that in none of the many wars with the Indian natives, sustained by

“ now likely to prove very happy for the propagation of the gospel
“ in those parts, and very beneficial and commodious to this kingdom and nation: The commons now assembled in parliament,
“ &c. &c.” [See Governor Hutchinson’s History. E.]

† Georgia has since acceded, July 1775.

our infant settlements for a century after our first arrival, were ever any troops or forces of any kind sent from England to assist us; nor were any forts built at her expence to secure our sea-ports from foreign invaders; nor any ships of war sent to protect our trade till many years after our first settlement, when our commerce became an object of revenue, or of advantage to British merchants; and then it was thought necessary to have a frigate in some of our ports, during peace, to give weight to the authority of custom-house officers, who were to restrain that commerce for the benefit of England. Our own arms, with our poverty, and the care of a kind providence, were all this time our only protection; while we were neglected by the English government; which either thought us not worth its care, or having no good will to some of us, on account of our different sentiments in religion and politics, was indifferent what became of us.—On the other hand, the colonies have not been wanting to do what they could in every war for annoying the enemies of *Britain*. They formerly assisted her in the conquest of Nova Scotia. In the war before last they took Louisbourg, and put it into her hands. She made her peace with that strong fortress, by restoring it to France, greatly to their detriment.—In the last war it is true Britain sent a fleet and army, who acted with an equal army of ours, in the reduction of Canada; and perhaps thereby did more for us, than we in the preceding wars had done for her.—Let it be remembered, however, that

that she rejected the plan we formed in the congress at Albany, in 1754, for our own defence, by an union of the colonies; an union she was jealous of, and therefore chose to send her own forces; otherwise her aid, to protect us, was not wanted. And from our first settlement to that time, her military operations in our favour were small, compared with the advantages she drew from her exclusive commerce with us.—We are however willing to give full weight to this obligation; and as we are daily growing stronger, and our assistance to her becomes of more importance, we should with pleasure embrace the first opportunity of shewing our gratitude by returning the favour in kind.—But when Britain values herself as affording us protection, we desire it may be considered that we have followed *her* in all *her* wars, and joined with her at our own expence against all she thought fit to quarrel with. This she has required of us; and would never permit us to keep peace with any power she declared her enemy; though by separate treaties we might well have done it. Under such circumstances, when at her instance we made nations our enemies, whom we might otherwise have retained our friends; we submit it to the common sense of mankind, whether her protection of us in these wars was not our *just due*, and to be claimed of *right*, instead of being received as a *favour*? And whether, when all the parts of an empire exert themselves to the utmost in their common defence, and in annoying the common enemy; it is not as well

A a a

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well the *parts* that protect the *whole*, as the *whole* that protects the *parts*? The protection then has been proportionably mutual.—And whenever the time shall come, that our abilities may as far exceed hers, as hers have exceeded ours; we hope we shall be reasonable enough to rest satisfied with her proportionable exertions, and not think we do too much for a part of the empire, when that part does as much as it can for the whole.

The charge against us, *that we refuse to contribute to our own protection*, appears from the above to be groundless: But we farther declare it to be absolutely false; for it is well known that we ever held it as our duty to grant aids to the crown upon requisition, towards carrying on its wars; which duty we have cheerfully complied with, to the utmost of our abilities; inasmuch that frequent and grateful acknowledgments thereof by king and parliament appear on their records*. But as Britain has enjoyed a most gainful monopoly of our commerce; the same, with our maintaining the dignity of the king's representative in each colony, and all our own separate establishments of government, civil and military; has ever hitherto been deemed an equivalent for such aids as might otherwise be expected from us in time of peace.—And we hereby declare, that on

* [Supposed to allude to certain passages in the Journals of the House of Commons on the 4th of April, 1748; 28th January, 1756; 3d February, 1756; 16th and 19th of May, 1757; 1st of June, 1758; 26th and 30th of April, 1759; 26th and 31st of March and 28th of April, 1760; 9th and 20th January, 1761; 22d and 26th January, 1762; and 14th and 17th March, 1763.]

a reconciliation with Britain, we shall *not only* continue to *grant aids in time of war*, as aforesaid; but, whenever she shall think fit to abolish her monopoly, and give us the same privileges of trade as Scotland received at the union, and allow us a free commerce with all the rest of the world; we shall willingly agree (and we doubt not it will be ratified by our constituents) to *give and pay* into the sinking fund [100,000l.] sterling per annum for the term of one hundred years; which duly, faithfully, and inviolably applied to that purpose, is demonstrably more than sufficient to extinguish *all her present national debt*; since it will in that time amount, at legal British interest, to more than [230,000,000l.] †.

But if Britain does not think fit to accept this proposition, we, in order to remove her groundless jealousies, *that we aim at independence, and an abolition of the navigation act*, (which hath in truth never been our intention) and to avoid all future disputes about the right of making that and other acts for regulating our commerce; Do hereby declare ourselves ready and willing to enter into a *Covenant with Britain*, that she shall fully possess, enjoy, and exercise that right, for an hundred years to come; the same being *bonâ fide* used for the common benefit; And in case of such agreement, that every assembly be advised by us to confirm it solemnly by laws of their own, which once made cannot be repealed without the assent of the crown.

† [See Dr. Price's *Appeal on the national debt.* E.]

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The last charge, *that we are dishonest traders, and aim at defrauding our creditors in Britain*, is sufficiently and authentically refuted by the solemn declarations of the British merchants to parliament, (both at the time of the stamp-act, and in the last session) who bore ample testimony to the general good faith and fair dealing of the Americans, and declared their confidence in our integrity; for which we refer to their petitions on the Journals of the House of Commons.—And we presume we may safely call on the body of the British tradesmen, who have had experience of both, to say, whether they have not received much more punctual payment from us than they generally have from the members of their own two houses of parliament.

On the whole of the above it appears, that the charge of *ingratitude* towards the mother country, brought with so much confidence against the colonies, is totally without foundation; and that there is much more reason for retorting that charge on Britain, who not only never contributes any aid, nor affords, by an exclusive commerce, any advantages to Saxony, *her* mother country; but no longer since than in the last war, without the least provocation, subsidized the King of Prussia while he ravaged that *mother country*, and carried fire and sword into its capital, the fine city of *Dresden*. An example we hope no provocation will induce us to imitate.

Letter

*Letter from Dr. Franklin to a friend in England,
on the subject of the first campaign made by the
British forces in America*.*

Philadelphia, 3d Octob. 1775-

Dear S I R,

I Am to set out to-morrow for the camp [†], and having but just heard of this opportunity, can only write a line to say that I am well and hearty.—Tell our dear good friend **, who sometimes has his doubts and despondencies about our firmness, that America is determined and unanimous; a very few Tories and placemen excepted, who will probably soon export themselves.

* [This letter has been several times very incorrectly printed: It is here given from a genuine copy. The parties to whom it is addressed, are of the very first order, both in point of literary merit and amiable manners. E.]

† [Dr. Franklin, Col. Harrison and Mr. Lynch, were at this time appointed by Congress (of which they were members) to confer on certain subjects with Gen. Washington. The American army was then employed in blocking up Gen. Howe in Boston; and I believe it was during this visit, that Gen. Washington communicated the following memorable anecdote to Dr. Franklin; *viz.* 'that there had been a time, when this army had been so destitute of military stores, as not to have powder enough in all its magazines, to furnish more than *five* rounds per man for their small arms.' Great guns were out of the question; they were fired now and then, only to shew that they had them. Yet this secret was kept with so much address and good countenance from both armies, that Gen. Washington was enabled effectually to continue the blockade. E.]

—Britain,

—Britain, at the expence of three millions, has killed 150 Yankees this campaign, which is 20,000 l. a head; and at Bunker's Hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by our taking post on Ploughed Hill. During the same time 60,000 children have been born in America. From these *data* his mathematical head will easily calculate the time and expence necessary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory. —My sincere respects to * * * * *, and to the club of honest whigs at * * * * *. Adieu. I am ever

Yours most affectionately,

B. F.

Letter

Letter from Lord Howe to Dr. Franklin.**Eagle, June the 20th, 1776.*

I Cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels, which I have sent (in the state I received them) to be landed, without adding a word upon the subject of the injurious extremities in which our unhappy disputes have engaged us.

You

* [In the year 1776 an act of parliament passed to prohibit and restrain on the one hand, the trade and intercourse of the refractory colonies respectively during the revolt; and on the other hand, to enable persons appointed by the crown to grant *pardons* and declare any particular district at the *king's peace*, &c. Lord Howe (who had been previously appointed commander of the fleet in North America) was on May 3d declared joint *commissioner* with his brother Gen. Howe for the latter purposes of the act. He sailed May 12; and while off the Massachusetts coast prepared a declaration announcing this commission, and accompanied it with circular letters. July 4th, independence had been declared; but nevertheless congress (invited by various attempts made to procure a conference) resolved to send Messieurs Franklin, J. Adams, and E. Rutledge to learn the propositions of the commissioners, by whom authorized, and to whom addressed. The commissioners having no power to treat with congress in its public capacity, and congress not being empowered by their representatives to rescind the act of independence; the conference was broken off — It remains only to add, that on Sept. 19, the commissioners declared themselves ready to confer with any of the well-affected, on the means of restoring peace and permanent union with every colony, as part of the British empire; and promised a *revissé* of the several royal *instructions* supposed to lay improper restraints on colony-legislation, and also the king's *conscience* in a revision of the objectionable acts of *parliament*: Which seemed the ultimatum of the commission. — Parliament however, by a subsequent act, (which among other things formally renounced taxation in North America and the West India) authorized five commissioners

You will learn the nature of my mission, from the official dispatches which I have recommended to be forwarded by the same conveyance. Retaining all the earnestness I ever expressed, to see our differences accommodated; I shall conceive, if I meet with the disposition in the colonies which I was once taught to expect, the most flattering hopes of proving serviceable in the objects of the King's paternal solicitude; by promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies. But if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the necessity of preventing her trade from passing into foreign channels, must keep us still a divided people; I shall, from every private as well as public motive, most heartily lament, that this is not the moment wherein those great objects of my ambition are to be attained;

to treat, settle and agree, even with congress; but subject to the farther confirmation of parliament. Lord Carlisle, and Messieurs Johnson and Eden, with the commanders in chief of the land and sea forces, were the commissioners appointed by the crown under this act; and Dr. Adam Ferguson was made secretary to the commission.

Mr. Henry Strachey had been secretary to the *first* commission, attended with the following singular circumstance, as stated in the house of lords. In this commission for restoring peace to America, (or in other words to induce America at once to put a confidence in the crown, and to believe that the parliament of England is a sufficiently powerful and honest barrier for them to trust to;) the secretary (Mr. Strachey) has 500 l. granted for life out of the *four and a half* per cent. duty, filched by the crown from the *West India Islands*, and in opposition to a solemn address of *parliament* desiring that it might be applied to the original purposes for which it was granted by the respective assemblies of the islands. — What these original purposes of the grants were, I meant (see p. 280) very briefly to have stated; but have not been able to procure the proper documents in time. E.]

and

[A: D. T.] to Dr. Franklin.

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and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity to assure you personally of the regard with which I am

Your sincere and faithful

humble servant,

HOWE.

P. S. I was disappointed of the opportunity I expected for sending this letter, at the time it was dated; and have ever since been prevented by calms and contrary winds, from getting here, to inform General Howe of the commission with which I have the satisfaction to be charged, and of his being joined in it.

Off of Sandy Hook, 12 of July.

Superfcribed, Howe.

To Benjamin Franklin, Esq; Philadelphia.

Bbb Dr.

Dr. Franklin's Answer to Lord Howe.

Philadelphia, July 30, 1776.

My Lord,

I Received safe the letters your Lordship so kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept my thanks.

The official dispatches to which you refer me, contain nothing more than what we had seen in the act of parliament, viz. "Offers of pardon upon submission; which I was sorry to find; as it must give your Lordship pain to be sent so far on so hopeless a business.

Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured; expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentments. — It is impossible we should think of submission to a government, that has with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty burnt our defenceless towns in the midst of winter; excited the savages to massacre our (peaceful) farmers; and our slaves to murder their masters; and is even now * bringing foreign mercenaries to

* [About this time the Hessians, &c. had just arrived from Europe, at Staten Island and New York.]

deluge

deluge our settlements with blood. These atrocious injuries have extinguished every spark of affection for that parent country we once held so dear:—But were it possible for *us* to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for *you* (I mean the British nation) to forgive the people you have so heavily injured;—you can never confide again in those as fellow subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom you know you have given such just causes of lasting enmity; and this must impel you, were we again under your government, to endeavour the breaking our spirit by the severest tyranny, and obstructing by every means in your power our growing strength and prosperity.

But your Lordship mentions “the King’s paternal solicitude for promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies.” If by *peace* is here meant, a peace to be entered into by distinct states, now at war; and his Majesty has given your Lordship powers to treat with us of such a peace; I may venture to say, though without authority, that I think a treaty for that purpose not quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign alliances. But I am persuaded you have no such powers.—Your nation, though by punishing those American governors who have fomented the discord, rebuilding our burnt towns, and repairing as far as possible the mischiefs done us; she might recover a great share of our regard; and the greatest share of our growing commerce, with all the advantages

tages of that additional strength, to be derived from a friendship with us; Yet I know too well her abounding pride and deficient wisdom, to believe she will ever take such salutary measures. Her fondness for conquest as a warlike nation; her lust of dominion as an ambitious one; and her thirst for a gainful monopoly as a commercial one (none of them legitimate causes of war;) will join to hide from her eyes every view of her true interest; and continually goad her on in these ruinous distant expeditions, so destructive both of lives and of treasure, that they must prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the Croisades formerly were to most of the nations of Europe.

I have not the vanity, my Lord, to think of intimidating, by thus predicting the effects of this war; for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions; not be believed till the event shall verify it.

Long did I endeavour † with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble china vase—the British empire; for I knew that being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their *share* of the strength and value that existed in the whole; and that a perfect *re-union* of those parts could scarce ever be hoped for. Your Lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy that wet my cheek, when, at your good sister's in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might soon

† [See this note at the close of this letter. B.]

take

take place.—I had the misfortune to find these expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief I was labouring to prevent. My consolation under that groundless and malevolent treatment was, that I retained the friendship of many wise and good men in that country; and among the rest, some share in the regard of Lord Howe.

The well founded esteem, and permit me to say affection, which I shall always have for your Lordship; make it painful to me to see you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which, (as described in your letter;) is “the necessity of preventing the American *trade* from passing into foreign channels.” To me it seems that neither the obtaining or retaining any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each others blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce, are the goodness and cheapness of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expence of compelling it, and holding it, by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise; and I am persuaded, that cool and dispassionate posterity will condemn to infamy those who advised it; and that even success will not save from some degree of dishonour, those who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

I know your great motive in coming hither, was the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation; and I believe, when you find that to be impossible,

impossible, on any terms given you to propose, you will then relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honourable private station, to which

With the greatest and most sincere respect, I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

humble servant,

B. Franklin.*

Directed to the Right Hon.

Lord Viscount Howe.

* [It occurs to me to mention that Dr. Franklin was supposed to have been the inventor of a little emblematical design at the commencement of our disputes; representing the state of Great Britain and her colonies, should the former persist in restraining the latter's trade, destroying their currency, and taxing their people by laws made by a legislature in which they were not represented. — Great Britain was supposed to have been placed upon the globe: But the colonies, her limbs, being severed from her, she was seen lifting her eyes and mangled limbs to heaven; her shield, which she was unable to wield, lay useless by her side; her lance had pierced New England; the laurel branch was fallen from the hand of Pennsylvania; the English oak had lost its head, and stood by a bare trunk with a few withered branches; briars and thorns were on the ground beneath it; our ships had brooms at their topmast-heads, denoting their being upon sale; and Britannia herself was seen sliding off the world, no longer able to hold its balance; her fragments overpread with the label *date obolum Belsaræ*. — This in short, was the fable of the

the belly and the members reversed. But I tell the story chiefly for the sake of the *moral*, which has the air of having been suggested by Dr. Franklin; and is as follows.—The political moral of this picture is now easily discovered. History affords us many instances of the ruin of states, by the prosecution of measures ill suited to the temper and genius of its people. The ordaining of laws in favor of *one* part of the nation, to the prejudice and oppression of *another*, is certainly the most erroneous and mistaken policy. An *equal* dispensation of protection, rights, privileges and advantages, is what every part is intitled to, and ought to enjoy; it being a matter of *no* moment to the state, whether a subject grows rich and flourishing on the Thames or the Ohio, in Edinburgh or Dublin. These measures never fail to create great and violent jealousies and animosities, between the people favored and the people oppressed. From whence a total separation of affections, interests, political obligations and all manner of connections, necessarily ensues; by which the whole state is weakened and perhaps ruined for ever.

This language is part of the *same* system with the following fragment of a sentence, which Dr. Franklin inserted in a political publication of one of his friends. The attempts to establish *arbitrary* powers over so great a part of the British empire, [are] to the imminent hazard of our most valuable commerce, and of that national strength, security and felicity, which depend on *union* and *liberty*. The preservation of which, I am told, he used to say, had been the great object and labor of his life; the whole being such a thing as *he could never before see*. E.]

This design was printed on a card, and Dr. Franklin at the time I believe, occasionally used to write his notes on such cards. It was also printed on a *half sheet of paper*, with an explanation by some other person, and the moral given above. The drawing was but moderately executed.

Comparison

Comparison of Great Britain and America as to Credit, in 1777 *

IN borrowing money, a man's credit depends on some or all of the following particulars.

First, His known conduct respecting former loans, and his punctuality in discharging them.

Secondly, His industry.

Thirdly, His frugality.

Fourthly, The amount and the certainty of his income, and the freedom of his estate from the incumbrances of prior debts.

Fifthly, His well founded prospects of greater future ability, by the improvement of his estate in value, and by aids from others.

Sixthly, His known prudence in managing his general affairs, and the advantage they will probably receive from the loan which he desires.

Seventhly, His known probity and honest character, manifested by his voluntary discharge of his debts, which he could not have been legally compelled to pay.—The circumstances which give credit to an *individual* ought to, and will have, their weight upon the lenders of money to *public bodies* or nations.—If then we consider and

* [This paper was written, translated, printed, and circulated, while Dr. Franklin was at the court of Paris, for the purpose of inducing foreigners to lend money to America in preference to Great Britain. E.]

compare

compare Britain and America, in these several particulars, upon the question, "To which is it safest "to lend money?" We shall find,

1. Respecting *former loans*; that *America*, which borrowed ten millions during the last war for the maintenance of her army of 25,000 men, and other charges; had faithfully discharged and paid that debt, and all her other debts, in 1772.—Whereas *Britain*, during those ten years of peace and profitable commerce, had made little or no reduction of her debt; but on the contrary, from time to time, diminished the hopes of her creditors, by a wanton diversion and misapplication of the sinking fund destined for discharging it.

2. Respecting *industry*; Every man [in *America*] is employed; the greater part in cultivating their own lands; the rest in handicrafts, navigation, and commerce. An idle man is a rarity; idleness and inutility are disgraceful.—In *England*, the number of that character is immense; fashion has spread it far and wide; Hence the embarrassments of private fortunes, and the daily bankruptcies arising from an universal fondness for appearance and expensive pleasures; And hence, in some degree, the mismanagements of public business; for habits of business and ability in it, are acquired only by practice; and where universal dissipation, and the perpetual pursuit of amusement are the mode; the youth, educated in it, can rarely afterwards acquire that patient attention and close application to affairs, which are so necessary to a statesman charged with the care of national

C c c

welfare.

welfare. Hence their frequent errors in policy ; and hence the weariness at public councils, and backwardness in going to them ; the constant unwillingness to engage in any measure that requires thought and consideration ; and the readiness for postponing every new proposition ; Which postponing is therefore the only part of business that they come to be expert in, an expertness produced necessarily by so much daily practice. Whereas in *America*, men bred to close employment in their private affairs, attend with ease to those of the public, when engaged in them, and nothing fails through negligence.

3. Respecting *frugality* ; the manner of living in *America* is more simple and less expensive than that in *England* : plain tables, plain clothing, and plain furniture in houses prevail, with few carriages of pleasure ; there, an expensive appearance hurts credit, and is avoided : in *England*, it is often assumed to gain credit, and continued to ruin.— Respecting *public* affairs, the difference is still greater. In *England*, the salaries of officers, and emoluments of office, are enormous. The king has a million sterling per annum, and yet cannot maintain his family free of debt : Secretaries of State, Lords of Treasury, Admiralty, &c. have vast appointments : An Auditor of the Exchequer has fixpence in the pound, or a fortieth part of all the public money expended by the nation ; so that, when a war costs forty millions, one million is paid to him : An Inspector of the Mint, in the last new coinage, received as his fee 65,000*l.* sterling

sterling per annum: To all which rewards, no service these Gentlemen can render the public is by any means equivalent. All this is paid by the people; who are oppressed by taxes so occasioned; and thereby rendered less able to contribute to the payment of necessary, national debts. In *America*, salaries, where indispensable, are extremely low; But much of the public business is done gratis. The honour of serving the publicably and faithfully, is deemed sufficient. *Public Spirit* really exists there, and has great effects. In England, it is universally deemed a non-entity, and whoever pretends to it, is laughed at as a fool, or suspected as a knave. The committees of congress, which form the board of war, the board of treasury, the board of foreign affairs, the naval board, that for accounts, &c. all attend the business of their respective functions, without any salary or emolument whatever; though they spend in it much more of their time than any Lord of Treasury or Admiralty in England can spare, from his amusements.

—A British minister lately computed, that the whole expence of the Americans, in their *civil* government, over three millions of people, amounted to but 70,000 l. sterling; and drew from thence a conclusion, that they ought to be taxed, until their expence was equal in proportion to that which it costs Britain to govern eight millions. He had no idea of a contrary conclusion; that if three millions may be well governed for 70,000 l. eight millions may be as well governed for three times that sum; and that therefore the expence of his

own government should be diminished.—In that corrupted nation, no man is ashamed of being concerned in lucrative *Government jobs*, in which the public money is egregiously misapplied and squandered, the treasury pillaged, and more numerous and heavy taxes accumulated; to the great oppression of the people. But the prospect of a greater number of such jobs by a war is an inducement with many to cry out for war upon all occasions, and to oppose every proposition of peace. Hence the constant increase of the national debt, and the absolute improbability of its ever being discharged.

4. Respecting the *amount and certainty of income, and solidity of security*; the *whole* Thirteen States of *America* are engaged for the payment of every debt contracted by the congress; and the debt to be contracted by the present war, is the *only* debt they will have to pay; all, or nearly all the former debts of particular colonies being already discharged. Whereas *England* will have to pay, not only the enormous debt this war must occasion, but all their vast preceding debt, or the interest of it;—and while *America* is enriching itself by prizes made upon the British commerce, more than it ever did by any commerce of its own, under the restraints of a British monopoly; *Britain* is growing poorer by the loss of that monopoly, and the diminution of its revenues; and of course is able to discharge the present indiscreet increase of its expenses.

5. Respecting prospects of greater future ability, *Britannia* has none such. Her islands are circumscribed by the ocean; and excepting a few parks or forests, she has no new land to cultivate, and cannot therefore extend her improvements. Her numbers too, instead of increasing from increased subsistence; are continually diminishing from growing luxury, and the increasing difficulties of maintaining families, which of course discourages early marriages. Thus she will have fewer people to assist in paying her debts, and that diminished number will be poorer.—*America*, on the contrary, has besides her lands already cultivated, a vast territory yet to be cultivated; which being cultivated, continually increase in value with the increase of people; And the people, who double themselves by a *natural propagation* every twenty five years, will double yet faster, by the accession of *strangers*, as long as lands are to be had for new families; So that every twenty years, there will be a double number of inhabitants obliged to discharge the public debts; and those inhabitants being more opulent, may pay their shares with greater ease.

6. Respecting *prudence* in general affairs, and the advantages to be expected from the loan desired; the *Americans* are cultivators of land; those engaged in fishery and commerce are few, compared with the others. They have ever conducted their several governments with wisdom, avoiding wars, and vain expensive projects; delighting only in their peaceable occupations, which must, considering

sidering the extent of their uncultivated territory find them employment still for ages. Whereas *England*, ever unquiet, ambitious, avaricious, imprudent, and quarrelsome, is half of the time engaged in war; always at an expence infinitely greater than the advantage to be obtained by it, if successful. Thus they made war against Spain in 1739, for a claim of about 95,000*l*. (scarce a groat for each individual of the nation) and spent forty millions sterling in the war, and the lives of fifty thousand men; and finally made peace without obtaining satisfaction for the sum claimed. Indeed, there is scarce a nation in Europe, against which she has not made war on some frivolous pretext or other; and thereby imprudently accumulated a debt that has brought her on the verge of bankruptcy.—But the most indiscreet of all her wars, is the present against *America*; with which she might, for ages, have preserved her profitable connection, only by a just and equitable conduct. She is now acting like a mad shopkeeper, who, by beating those that pass his doors, attempts to make them come in, and be his customers. *America* cannot submit to such treatment, without being first ruined; and being ruined, her custom will be worth nothing. *England*, to effect this, is increasing her debt, and irretrievably ruining herself.—*America*, on the other hand, aims only to establish her liberty, and that freedom of commerce which will be advantageous to all Europe; And by abolishing that monopoly which she laboured under, she will profit infinitely more than enough,

enough, to repay any debt which she may contract to accomplish it.

7. Respecting *character in the honest payment of debts*; The punctuality with which *America* has discharged her public debts, was shewn under the first head.—And the general good disposition of the people to such punctuality, has been manifested in their faithful payment of *private* debts to England, since the commencement of this war.

—There were not wanting some politicians [in America,] who proposed *stopping that payment*, until peace should be restored; alleging that in the usual course of commerce, and of the credit given, there was always a debt existing equal to the trade of eighteen months: That the trade amounting to five millions sterling per annum, the debt must be seven millions and an half; that this sum paid to the British merchants, would operate to prevent that distress, intended to be brought upon Britain, by our stoppage of commerce with her: For the merchants receiving this money, and no orders with it for farther supplies, would either lay it out in the public funds; or in employing manufacturers, to accumulate goods, for a future hungry market in America, upon an expected accommodation; by which means the funds would be kept up, and the manufacturers prevented from murmuring. But *against this it was alleged*, that injuries from ministers should not be revenged on merchants; that the credit was in consequence of private contracts, made in confidence of good faith; that these ought to

to be held sacred, and faithfully complied with; For that whatever public utility might be supposed to arise from a breach of private faith, it was unjust; and would in the end be found unwise; honesty, being in truth, the best policy. On this principle, the proposition was universally rejected; and though the English prosecuted the war, with unexampled barbarity, burning our defenceless towns in the midst of winter, and arming savages against us; the debt was punctually paid; And the merchants of London have testified to the parliament, and will testify to all the world, that from their experience in dealing with us, they had, before the war, no apprehension of our unfairness; and that since the war, they have been convinced, that their good opinion of us was well founded. — *England*, on the contrary, an old, corrupt, extravagant, and profligate nation, sees herself deep in debt, which she is in no condition to pay; and yet is madly, and dishonestly, running deeper, without any possibility of discharging her debt, but by a public bankruptcy.

It appears, therefore, from the general industry, frugality, ability, prudence, and virtue of America, that she is a much safer debtor than Britain; — To say nothing of the satisfaction generous minds must have in reflecting, that by loans to America, they are opposing tyranny, and aiding the cause of liberty, which is the cause of all mankind.

IV. PAPERS

IV.

P A P E R S

, ON

S U B J E C T S

OF

PROVINCIAL POLITICS.

N. B. *All the Papers under this division are distinguished by the letters [P. P.] placed in the running title at the head of each leaf.*

D d d

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Report of the Committee of Aggrievances of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, dated Feb. 22, 1757.*

IN obedience to the order of the house, we have drawn up the heads of the most important aggrievances that occur to us, which the people of this province with great difficulty labour under; the many infractions of the constitution, (in manifest violation of the royal grant, the proprietary charter, the laws of this province, and of the laws, usages, and customs of our mother country;) and other matters; which we apprehend call aloud for redress.

They are as follow :

* [The English colony-governments seem to have been considered as of three sorts. First, *Provincial* governments; where the constitution originally depends on the King's commission and instructions, given to his governors; and the assemblies held under that authority, have their share in making local ordinances not repugnant to English law. Next, *Proprietary* governments; where a district of country is given by the crown to individuals, attended with certain legislative powers in the nature of a fief; with a provision for the sovereignty at home, and also for the fulfilment of the terms and end of the grant. Lastly, *Charter* governments, where the form of government is previously prescribed and made known to the settlers, being in no degree left subject to a governor's commission or proprietor's will. (See Blackstone, Vol. I. Introd. § 4.) — Good faith however to mankind seemed to require, that the constitutions once begun under the provincial or proprietary governments, should remain unaltered (except for improvement,) to the respective settlers; equally as in charter governments.

By the last paragraph of the above report, it seems that the assembly established in Pennsylvania intended to send *Commissioners to England*, to solicit redress of various grievances, particularly respecting *their proprietor's* conduct; and that the business being referred to a committee of the assembly, the following report was meant to convey the opinion of that committee concerning the instructions necessary to be given by the assembly to the commissioners. E.]

Ddd 2

First,

First, By the royal charter, (which has ever been, ought to be, and truly is, the principal and invariable fundamental of this constitution) King Charles the Second did give and grant unto William Penn, his heirs and assigns, the province of Pennsylvania; and also to him and his heirs, and his or their *deputies* or lieutenants, free, full, and absolute power for the good and happy government thereof, to make and enact any laws, “ according to their best discretion; by and with “ the advice, assent, and approbation of the *free-men* of the said country, or of their delegates “ or deputies;” for the raising of money, or any other end appertaining to the public state, peace or safety of the said country.—By the words of this grant, it is evident that full powers are granted to the *deputies* and lieutenants of William Penn and his heirs, to concur with the people in framing laws for their protection and the safety of the province, according to their best discretion; independent of any instructions or directions they should receive from their *principals*. And it is equally obvious to your committee, that the *people* of this province and their representatives were interested in this royal grant; and by virtue thereof have an original right of legislation inherent in them; which neither the proprietors nor any other person whatsoever can divest them of, restrain, or abridge; without manifestly violating and destroying the letter, spirit, and design of this grant.

Nevertheless we unfortunately find, that the proprietaries of this province, regardless of this sacred

sacred fundamental of all our rights and liberties; have so abridged and restricted their late and present *governor's* discretion in matters of legislation, by their illegal, impracticable, and unconstitutional instructions and prohibitions; that no bill for granting aids and supplies to our most gracious sovereign, (be it ever so reasonable, expedient, and necessary for the defence of this his Majesty's colony, and safety of his people,) unless it be agreeable thereto, can meet with his approbation: by means whereof the many considerable sums of money which have been offered for those purposes, by the assemblies of this province (ever anxious to maintain his honour and rights,) have been rejected; to the great encouragement of his Majesty's enemies, and the imminent danger of the loss of this his colony.

Secondly, The representatives of the people in general assembly met, by virtue of the said royal grant, and the charter of privileges granted by the said William Penn, and a law of this province; have right to, and ought to enjoy all the powers and privileges of an assembly; according to the rights of the free-born subjects of England, and as is usual in any of the plantations in America: [Also] it is an indubitable and now an uncontested right of the commons of England to *grant aids* and supplies to his Majesty in any manner they think most easy to themselves and the people; and they [also] are the sole judges of the *measure, manner and time* of granting and raising the same.

Never-

Nevertheless the proprietaries of this province, in contempt of the said royal grant, proprietary charter, and law of their colony; designing to subvert the fundamentals of this constitution, to deprive the assembly and people of their rights and privileges, and to assume an arbitrary and tyrannical power over the liberties and properties of his Majesty's liege subjects; have so restrained their governors by the *despotic instructions*, (which are not to be varied from, and are particularly directory in the framing and passing of money bills and supplies to his Majesty, as to the mode, measure, and time;) that it is impossible for the assembly, should they lose all sense of their most essential rights, and comply with those instructions, to grant sufficient aids for the defence of this his Majesty's province from the common enemy.

Thirdly, In pursuance of sundry acts of general assembly, approved of by the crown, [and] a natural right inherent in every man antecedent to all laws; the assemblies of this province have had the power of disposing of the *public monies*, that have been raised for the encouragement of trade and support of government, by the interest-money arising by the loan of the bills of credit and the excise. No part of these monies was ever paid by the *proprietaries*, or ever raised on their estates; and therefore they can have no pretence of right to a voice in the disposition of them. They have ever been applied with prudent frugality to the honour and advantage of the public, and the King's immediate service, to the general approbation of the people: the

the credit of the government has been preserved, and the debts of the public punctually discharged. In short, no inconveniences, but great and many advantages have accrued, from the assembly's prudent care and management of these funds.

Yet the proprietaries resolved to deprive the assemblies of the power and means of *supporting an agent* in England; and of prosecuting their complaints and remonstrating their aggrivances, when injured and oppressed, to his Majesty and his parliament: And to rob them of this natural right, (which has been so often approved of by their gracious sovereign) have, by their said instructions, prohibited their governor from giving his assent to any laws emitting or re-emitting any paper-currency or bills of credit, or for raising money by excise or any other method; unless the governor or commander in chief for the time being, by clauses to be inserted therein, have a *negative in the disposition* of the monies arising thereby; let the languishing circumstances of our trade be ever so great, and a further or greater medium be ever so necessary for its support.

Fourthly, By the laws and statutes of England, the chief rents, honours, and castles of the *crown* are taxed, and *pay their proportion*, to the supplies that are granted to the King for the defence of the realm and support of government: His Majesty, the nobility of the realm, and all the British subjects, do now actually contribute their proportion towards the defence of America in general, and this province in particular: And it is in a more especial

especial manner the duty of the *proprieties* to pay their proportion of a tax for the immediate preservation of their own estates, in this province. To exempt therefore any part of their estates from their reasonable part of this necessary burthen, is as unjust as it is illegal, and as new as it is arbitrary.

Yet the proprietaries, notwithstanding the general danger to which the nation and its colonies are exposed, and great distress of this province in particular; by their said instructions, have prohibited their governors from passing laws for the raising supplies for its defence; *unless* all their located, unimproved, and unoccupied lands, quit-rents, fines and purchase monies on interest, (the much greater part of their enormous estates in this colony) are expressly exempted from paying any part of the tax.

Fifthly, By virtue of the said royal charter, the proprietaries are invested with a power of doing every thing "which unto a complete establishment of justice, unto courts and tribunals, forms of judicature, and manner of proceedings, do belong." It was certainly the import and design of this grant, that the courts of judicature should be formed, and the *judges* and officers thereof, hold their commissions, in a manner not repugnant, but agreeable to the laws and customs of England; that thereby they might remain free from the influence of persons in power; the rights of the people might be preserved, and their properties

perities effectually secured. That the grantee, William Penn (understanding the said grant in this light) did, by his original frame of government, covenant and grant with the people, that the judges and other officers should hold their commissions during their *good behaviour, and no longer*.

Notwithstanding which, the governors of this province have for many years past, granted all the commissions to the judges of the King's Bench or supreme court of this province, and to the judges of the court of Common Pleas of the several counties; to be held during their *will and pleasure*: By means whereof, the said judges being subject to the influence and directions of the proprietaries and their governors, their favourites and creatures, the laws may not be duly administered or executed, but often wrested from their true sense to serve particular purposes: the foundation of justice may be liable to be destroyed; and the lives, laws, liberties, privileges and properties of the people thereby rendered precarious and altogether insecure; to the great disgrace of our laws, and the inconceivable injury of his Majesty's subjects.

Your committee further beg leave to add, that besides these aggrivances, there are other hardships the people of this province have experienced, that call for redress.—The *inlistment of servants without the least satisfaction* being made to the masters, has not only prevented the cultivation of our lands, and diminished the trade and commerce of the province; but is a burthen extremely unequal and

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oppressive

oppressive to individuals. And should the practice continue, the consequence must prove very discouraging to the further settlement of this colony, and prejudicial to his Majesty's future service.—Justice, therefore, demands that satisfaction should be made to the masters of such inlisted servants; and that the right of masters to their servants be confirmed and settled.—But as those servants have been inlisted into his Majesty's service for the general defence of America, and not of this province only; but all the colonies, and the nation in general, have and will receive equal benefit from their service; this satisfaction should be made at the expense of the nation, and not of the province only.

That the people now labour under a *burthen of taxes* almost insupportable by so young a colony, for the defence of its long-extended frontier, of about two hundred miles from New Jersey to Maryland; without either of those colonies, or the three lower counties on Delaware contributing their proportion thereto; though their frontiers are in a great measure covered and protected by our forts. And should the war continue, and with it this unequal burthen, many of his Majesty's subjects in this province will be reduced to want; and the province, if not lost to the enemy, involved in debt, and sunk under its load.

That notwithstanding this weight of taxes, the assemblies of this province *have given to the general service* of the nation, five thousand pounds to purchase provisions for the troops under General Braddock; 2,985*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.* for clearing a road by

by his orders; 10,514*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* to General Shirley, for the purchasing provisions for the New England forces; and expended the sum of 2385*l.* 0*s.* 2½*d.* in supporting the inhabitants of Nova Scotia;—Which likewise we conceive ought to be a national expence.

And that his Majesty's subjects, the merchants and insurers in England, as well as the merchants here and elsewhere; did during the last, and will during the present war, greatly [suffer], in their property, trade, and commerce, by the *enemy's* *privateers* on this coast, and at our capes; unless some method be fallen on to prevent it.

Wherefore your committee are of opinion, That the commissioners intended to be sent to England, to solicit a memorial and redress of the many infractions and violations of the constitution;—should also have it in charge, and be instructed to represent to our most gracious Sovereign and his parliaments, the several unequal burthens and hardships before-mentioned;—and endeavour to procure satisfaction to the masters of such servants as have been inlisted, and the right of masters to their servants established and confirmed;—and obtain a repayment of the said several sums of money; some assistance towards defending our extensive frontier; and a vessel of war to protect the trade and commerce of this province.

Submitted to the correction of the house.

Feb. 22, 1757.

E e e 2

To

To the Freemen of Pennsylvania, on the Subject of a particular Militia Bill, rejected by the Proprietor's deputy or governor.

Philadelphia, Sept. 28, 1764.

Gentlemen,

YOUR desire of knowing how the militia bill came to fail in the last Assembly, shall immediately be complied with.

As the Governor pressed hard for a militia law, to secure the internal peace of the province, and the people of this country had not been accustomed to militia service; the house, to make it more generally agreeable to the freeholders, formed the bill so as that they might have some share in the election of the officers; to secure them from having absolute strangers set over them, or persons generally disagreeable.

This was no more, than that every company should choose, and recommend to the Governor, three persons for each office of Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign; *out of which three*, the Governor was to commission *one* that he thought most proper, or which he pleased, to be the officer.—And that the Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns, so commissioned by the Governor; should, in their respective regiments, choose and recommend three persons for each office of Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel; and Major; out of which three

three the Governor was to commission *one*, which ever he pleased, to each of the said offices.

The Governor's amendment to the bill in this particular, was, to strike out wholly this privilege of the people; and take to himself the *sole* appointment of all the officers.

The next amendment was to aggravate and enhance *all the fines*. A fine that the Assembly had made One hundred pounds, and thought heavy enough; the Governor required to be Three hundred pounds. What they had made Fifty pounds, he required to be One hundred and fifty.—These were fines on the commissioned officers for disobedience to his commands; but the non-commissioned officers, or common soldiers, who, for the same offence the Assembly proposed to fine at Ten pounds, the Governor insisted should be fined Fifty pounds.

These fines, and some others to be mentioned hereafter, the Assembly thought ruinously high:—But when, in a subsequent amendment, the Governor would, for offences among the militia, take away the *trial by jury* in the common courts; and required, that the trial should be by a court-martial, composed of officers of his own sole appointing, who should have power of sentencing even to Death;—the House could by no means consent thus to give up their constituents liberty, estate, and life itself, into the absolute power of a proprietary Governor;—and so the bill failed.

That you may be assured I do not misrepresent this matter, I shall give you the last mentioned

amendment (so called) at full length; and for the truth and exactness of my copy I dare appeal to Mr. Secretary Shippen.

The words of the bill, p. 43. were, " Every
" such person so offending, being legally convicted
" thereof," &c. By the words *legally convicted*,
was intended a conviction after legal trial, in the
common course of the laws of the land. But the
Governor required this addition immediately to
follow the words [" convicted thereof"] viz. ' by
" a *court-martial*; shall suffer DEATH, or such
" other punishment as such court, by their sen-
" tence or decree, shall think proper to inflict
" and pronounce. And be it farther enacted by
" the authority aforesaid, That when and so often
" as it may be necessary, the *Governor* and Com-
" mander in chief for the time being, shall ap-
" point and commission, under the great seal
" of this province, sixteen commissioned officers
" in each regiment; with authority and power to
" them or any thirteen of them to hold courts-
" martial, of whom a field officer shall always
" be one, and president of the said court; and
" such courts-martial shall and are hereby im-
" powered to administer an oath to any witness,
" in order to the examination or trial of any of
" the offences which by this act are made cog-
" nizable in such courts, and shall come before
" them. Provided always, that in all trials by
" a court-martial by virtue of this act, every offi-
" cer present at such trial, before any proceedings
" be had therein, shall take an *oath* upon the
" holy

‘ holy evangelists, before one Justice of the peace
‘ in the county where such court is held; who
‘ are hereby authorized to administer the same,
‘ in the following words, that is to say; “ I A. B.
‘ do swear, that I will duly administer justice
‘ according to evidence; and to the directions of
‘ an act, intitled, An Act for forming and regulating the militia of the province of Pennsylvania,
‘ without partiality, favour or affection; and that
‘ I will not divulge the sentence of the court,
‘ until it shall be approved of by the Governor
‘ or Commander in chief of this province for the
‘ time being; neither will I, upon any account,
‘ at any time whatsoever, disclose or *discover* the
‘ *vote or opinion* of any particular member of
‘ the court-martial. So help me God.” — ‘ And
‘ no sentence of Death, or other sentence, shall
‘ be given against any offender, but by the concurrence of *nine* of the officers so sworn. And
‘ no sentence passed against any offender by such
‘ court-martial shall be put in execution, until
‘ report be made of the whole proceedings to
‘ the Governor or Commander in chief of this
‘ province for the time being, and his directions
‘ signified thereupon.’

It is observable here, that by the common course of justice, a man is to be tried by a Jury of his neighbours and fellows; impannelled by a Sheriff, in whose appointment the people have a choice: the prisoner too has a right to challenge twenty of the pannel, without giving a reason, and as many more as he can give reasons for challenging.

lenging; and before he can be convicted, the Jury are to be unanimous; they are all to agree that he is guilty, and are therefore all accountable for their verdict.—But by this amendment, the Jury (if they may be so called) are all officers of the Governor's sole appointing; and not one of them can be challenged; And though a common militia man is to be tried, no common militia man shall be of that Jury; And so far from requiring all to agree, a bare majority shall be sufficient to condemn you. And lest that majority should be under any check or restraint, from an apprehension of what the world might think or say of the severity or injustice of their sentence; an Oath is to be taken, never to discover the vote or opinion of any particular member!

These are some of the chains attempted to be forged for you by the Proprietary faction!—Who advised the Governor is not difficult to know. They are the very men, who now clamour at the Assembly for a proposal of bringing the trial of a particular murder to this county, from another, where it was not thought safe for any man to be either jurymen or witnesses; and call it disfranchising the people! who are now bawling about the constitution, and pretending vast concern for your liberties!—In refusing you the least means of recommending or expressing your regard for persons to be placed over you as officers, and who were thus to be made your judges in life and estate; they have not regarded the example of the King, our wife as well as kind master; who, in all

all his requisitions made to the colonies, of raising troops for their defence, directed that "the better to facilitate the important service, the commissions should be given to such as from their weight and credit with the people, may be best enabled to effectuate the levies *."—In establishing a militia for the defence of the province, how could the "weight and credit" of men with the people be better discovered, than by the mode that bill directed; viz. by a majority of those that were to be commanded, nominating three for each office to the Governor, of which three he might take the one he liked best?—

However, the courts-martial being established, and all of us thus put into his Honour's absolute power, the Governor goes on to enhance the fines and penalties: Thus in page 49 of the bill, where the Assembly had proposed the fine to be Ten shillings, the Governor required it to be Ten pounds:—In page 50, where a fine of Five pounds was mentioned, the Governor's amendment required it to be made Fifty pounds. And in page 44, where the Assembly had said, "shall forfeit" and pay any sum, not exceeding Five pounds," the Governor's amendment says, "shall suffer DEATH; or such other punishment, as shall, according to the nature of the offence, be inflicted by the sentence of a court-martial!"—

The Assembly's refusing to admit of these amendments in that bill, is one of their offences

* See Secretary of State's Letters in the printed Votes.

against the Lord Proprietary; for which that faction are now abusing them in both the languages † of the province, with all the virulence that reverend malice can dictate; enforced by numberless barefaced falsehoods, that only the most dishonest and base would dare to invent, and none but the most weak and credulous can possibly believe.

VERITAS.

† [It is hardly necessary to mention here, that Pennsylvania was settled by a mixture of *German* and *English*. E.]

ending

to the Freemen of Pennsylvania, 1797

Remarks

*Remarks on a late Protest against the Appointment of
Mr. FRANKLIN as Agent for this Province
[of Pennsylvania].*

I Have generally passed over, with a silent disregard, the *nameless* abusive pieces that have been written against me †; and though this paper, called a PROTEST, is signed by some respectable names, I was, nevertheless, inclined to treat it with the same indifference; But as the Assembly is therein reflected on upon my account, it is thought more my duty to make some remarks upon it.

I would first observe then, that this mode of *protesting* by the minority, with a string of reasons against the proceedings of the majority of the House of Assembly, is quite new among us; the present is the second we have had of the kind, and both within a few months. It is unknown to the practice of the House of Commons, or of any House of Representatives in *America*, that I have heard of; and seems an affected imitation of the Lords in Parliament; which can by no means become Assembly-men of America.—Hence appears the absurdity of the complaint, that the House refused the Protest an *entry* on their minutes. The protesters know that they are not, by any custom or usage, intitled to such an entry; and that the practice here is not only useless in itself, but would be highly inconvenient to the

† [N. B. This was written and signed by Dr. Franklin. E.]

House; since it would probably be thought necessary for the majority also to enter their reasons, to justify themselves to their constituents; whereby the minutes would be incumbered, and the public business obstructed. More especially will it be found inconvenient, if such *Protests* are made use of as a new form of libelling, as the vehicles of personal malice, and as means of giving to private abuse the appearance of a sanction as public acts. Your Protest, Gentlemen, was therefore properly refused; and since it is no part of the proceedings of Assembly, one may with the more freedom examine it.

Your first reason against my appointment is, that you "believe me to be the chief author of the measures pursued by the last Assembly, which have occasioned *such uneasiness* and distraction among the good people of this province." I shall not dispute my share in those measures; I hope they are such as will in time do honour to all that were concerned in them. But you seem mistaken in the order of time: It was the *uneasiness* and distraction among the good people of the province that occasioned the measures; the province was in confusion before they were taken, and they were pursued in order to prevent such *uneasiness* and distraction for the future. Make one step farther back, and you will find *proprietary* injustice supported by *proprietary* minions and creatures, the original cause of all our *uneasiness* and distractions.

Another

Another of your reasons is, "that I am, as you are informed, very *unfavourably* thought of by several of his Majesty's ministers." I apprehend, Gentlemen, that your informer is mistaken. He indeed has taken great pains to give unfavourable impressions of me, and perhaps may flatter himself, that it is impossible so much true industry should be totally without effect. His long success in maiming or murdering all the reputations that stand in his way (which has been the dear delight and constant employment of his life) may likewise have given him some just ground for confidence that he has, as they call it, *done for me*, among the rest.—But, as I said before, I believe he is mistaken. For what have I done that they should think unfavourably of me? It cannot be my constantly and uniformly promoting the measures of the crown, ever since I had any influence in the province. It cannot, surely, be my promoting the change from a proprietary to a royal government.—If indeed I had, by speeches and writings, endeavoured to make his Majesty's government universally odious in the province: If I had harangued by the week, to all corners and goers, on the pretended injustice and oppressions of royal government, and the slavery of the people under it: If I had written traitorous papers to this purpose, and got them translated into other languages, to give his Majesty's foreign subjects here those horrible ideas of it: If I had declared, written and printed, that "the King's little

" little finger we should find heavier than the
 " Proprietor's whole loins," with regard to our
 liberties; *then indeed* might the ministers be sup-
 posed to think unfavourably of me. But these
 are not exploits for a man who holds a profitable
 office under the crown, and can expect to hold it
 no longer than he behaves with the fidelity and
 duty that becomes every good subject. They are
 only for officers of proprietary appointment; who
 hold their commissions during his, and not the
 King's, pleasure; and who, by dividing among
 themselves and their relations, offices of many
 thousands a year enjoyed by proprietary favour,
feel where to place their loyalty. I wish they
 were as good subjects to his *Majesty*;—and per-
 haps they may be so, when the proprietary inter-
 ferer no longer.

Another of your reasons is, " that the proposal
 " of me for an *agent*, is extremely disagreeable to
 " a very great number of the most serious and
 " reputable inhabitants of the province; and the
 " *proof* is, my having been rejected at the last
 " election, though I had represented the city in
 " Assembly for fourteen years."

And do those of you, Gentlemen, reproach me
 with this, who, among near four thousand voters,
 had scarcely a score more than I had? It seems
 then, that your *elections* were very near being
rejections, and thereby furnishing the same proof
 in your case that you produce in mine, of *your*
 being likewise extremely disagreeable to a very
 great

great number of the most serious and reputable people. Do you, honourable Sir, reproach me with this; who for almost twice 14 years have been rejected (if *not being chosen* is *to be rejected*) by the same people; and (unable, with all your wealth and connections, and the influence they give you, to obtain an election in the county where you reside, and the city where you were born, and are best known;) have been obliged to accept a seat from one of the out counties, the remotest of the province!—It is known, Sir, to the persons who proposed me, that I was first chosen against my inclination; and against my entreaties that I might be suffered to remain a private man. In none of the 14 elections you mention did I ever appear as a candidate. I never did, directly, or indirectly solicit any man's vote. For six of the years in which I was annually chosen, I was absent; residing in England; during all which time, your secret and open attacks upon my character and reputation were incessant; and yet you gained no ground. And can you really, Gentlemen, find matter of triumph in this *rejection* as you call it?—A moment's reflection on the means by which it was obtained, must make you ashamed of it.

Not only my duty to the crown, in carrying the post-office act more duly into execution, was made use of to exasperate the ignorant, as if I was increasing my own profits, by picking their pockets; but my very zeal in opposing the murderers, and supporting the authority of government; and even my

my humanity, with regard to the innocent *Indians* under our protection; were mustered among my offences, to stir up against me those religious bigots, who are of all savages the most brutish. Add to this the numberless falsehoods propagated as truths; and the many perjuries procured among the wretched rabble brought to swear themselves intitled to a vote;—And yet so *poor a superiority* obtained at all this expence of honour and conscience! can this, Gentlemen, be matter of triumph? Enjoy it then. Your exultation, however, was short.—Your artifices did not prevail every where; nor your double tickets, and whole boxes of forged votes. A great majority of the new chosen assembly were of the old members, and remain uncorrupted. They still stood firm for the people, and will obtain justice from the proprietaries. But what does that avail to you, who are in the proprietary interest? And what comfort can it afford you, when, by the assembly's choice of an *agent*, it appears that the same, to you obnoxious man, (notwithstanding all your venomous invectives against him) still retains so great a share of the public confidence?

But “this step, you say, gives you the more
 “lively affliction; as it is taken at the *very moment* when you were informed by a member
 “of the house, that the governor had assured him
 “of his having received instructions from the
 “proprietaries, to give his assent to the taxation
 “of their estates; in the *same manner* that the
 “estates

“ estates of other persons are to be taxed; and also
 “ to confirm, for the public use, the several
 “ squares formerly *claimed* by the city.”—O the
 force of friendship! the power of interest! What
 politeness they infuse into a writer, and what *de-*
licate expressions they produce!—The dispute be-
 tween the proprietaries and us was about the
quantum, the rate of their taxation; and not about
 the *manner*; But now, when all the world con-
 demns them for requiring a partial exemption of
 their estates, and they are forced to submit to an
 honest equality, it is called “*assenting* to be taxed
 “ in the *same manner* with the people.”—Their
restitution of five public squares in the plan of the
 city, which they had near forty years unjustly and
 dishonourably seized and detained from us, (direct-
 ing their surveyor to map streets over them, in
 order to turn them into lots, and their officers to
 sell a part of them;) this their *disgorging*, is softly
 called *confirming* them for the public use; and in-
 stead of the plain words “*formerly given* to the city,
 “ by the first proprietary their father,” we have
 the cautious pretty expression of “*formerly claimed*
 “ by the city:” Yes; not only *formerly*, but
always claimed, ever since they were *promised*
 and *given* to encourage the settlers; and ever will
 be *claimed*, till we are put in actual possession of
 them. It is pleasant, however, to see how lightly
 and tenderly you trip over these matters, as if you
 trod upon eggs.—But that “*VERY MOMENT*,”
 that precious moment! Why was it so long de-
 layed? Why were those healing instructions so

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long

long withheld and concealed from the people? They were, it seems, brought over by Mr. Allen*: Intelligence was received by various hands from London, that orders were sent by the proprietaries, from which great hopes were entertained of an accommodation. Why was the bringing and the delivery of such orders so long *denied*? The reason is easily understood. Messieurs Barclays, friends to both proprietaries and people, wished for that Gentleman's happy arrival; hoping his *influence*, added to the *power* and *commissions* the proprietaries had vested him with, might prove effectual in restoring harmony and tranquillity among us; But *be*, it seems, hoped his *influence* might do the business, without those additions.—There appeared on his arrival some prospect (from sundry circumstances) of a *change* to be made in the house by the approaching election. The proprietary friends and creatures knew the heart of their master; and how extremely disagreeable to him that *equal taxation*, that *restitution*, and the other *concessions* to be made for the sake of a reconciliation, must necessarily be. They hoped therefore to spare him all those mortifications, and thereby

* *Extract of a Letter, dated London, August 6, 1764, from David Barclay and Sons, to Messieurs James and Drinker.*

“ We very much wish for *William Allen*'s happy arrival on your side; when we hope his *influence*, added to the *power* and *commissions* the proprietaries have invested him with, may prove effectual, in restoring harmony and tranquillity among you, so much to be desired by every well-wisher to your province. Pray be assured of our sincerest and best wishes for the success of this salutary work, and that nothing in our power, to contribute thereto, will ever be wanting.”

secure

secure a greater portion of his favour. Hence the instructions were not produced to the last assembly; though they arrived before the September sitting, when the governor was in town, and actually did business with the house. Nor to the new assembly, were they mentioned; till the "*very moment*," the fatal moment, when the house were on the point of choosing that wicked adversary of the proprietary, to be an *agent* for the province in *England*.

But I have, you say, a "*fixed enmity to the proprietaries*," and "*you believe it will preclude all accommodation of our disputes with them, even on just and reasonable terms.*"—And why do you think I have a fixed enmity to the proprietaries? I have never had any personal difference with them. I am no land-jobber; and therefore have never had any thing to do with their land-office or officers; if I had, probably, like others, I might have been obliged to truckle to their measures, or have had like causes of complaint.—But our private interests never clashed; and all their resentment against me, and mine to them, has been on the public account. Let them do justice to the people of Pennsylvania, act honourably by the citizens of Philadelphia, and become honest men; my enmity, if that's of any consequence, ceases from the "*very moment*," and, as soon as I possibly can, I promise to love, honour and respect them.—In the mean time, why do you "*believe it will preclude all accommodation with them on just and reasonable terms?*"

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"terms?" Do you not boast, that their gracious condescensions are in the hands of the governor; and that "if this had been the usual time for
 "business, his honour would have sent them
 "down in a message to the house." How then can my going to *England* prevent this accommodation? The governor can call the House when he pleases; and, one would think, that, at least in your opinion, my being out of the way would be a favourable circumstance. For then, by "cultivating the disposition shown by the proprietaries, every *reasonable demand* that can be made
 "on the part of the people might be obtained:
 "in vigorously insisting on which, you promise
 "to unite most earnestly with the rest of the
 "House."—It seems then we have "*reasonable demands*" to make, and as you call them a little higher, *equitable demands*. This is much for proprietary minions to own; But you are all growing better, in imitation of your master, which is indeed very commendable. And if the accommodation here should fail, I hope that though you dislike the person a majority of two to one in the House have thought fit to appoint an agent; you will nevertheless, in duty to your country, continue the noble resolution of uniting with the rest of the House, in vigorously insisting on that *equity* and *justice*, which such an union will undoubtedly obtain for us.

I pass over the trivial charge against the Assembly, that they "acted with *unnecessary haste*" in proceeding to this appointment, "making

"making a small adjournment," &c. and your affected apprehensions of danger from that haste. The necessity of expedition on this occasion is as obvious to every one out of doors, as it was to those within; and the fears you mention are not, I fancy, considerable enough to break your rest.—I come then to your *big* charge against me, "That I" heretofore ventured, *contrary* to an act of Assembly, to place the public money in the stocks; "whereby this province suffered a loss of 6000l." and that sum, added to the 5000l. granted for "my expences, makes the whole cost of my former voyage to *England* amount to ELEVEN THOUSAND POUNDS!"—How wisely was that form in our laws contrived, which when a man is arraigned for his life, requires the evidence to speak *the truth*, the *whole truth*, and *nothing but the truth*! The reason is manifest. A falshood may destroy the innocent; so may *part of a truth* without *the whole*; and a mixture of truth and falshood may be full as pernicious. You, Mr. Chief Justice, and the other justices among the protectors, and you, Sir, who are a Counsellor at Law; must all of you be well acquainted with this excellent form; and when you arraigned my reputation (dearer to me than life) before the Assembly, and now at the respectable tribunal of the public; would it not have well become your Honours to have had some small regard at least to the spirit of that form?—You might have mentioned, that the direction of the act to lodge the money in the Bank, subject to the drafts of the trustees

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trustees of the loan-office here, was impracticable; that the bank refused to receive it on those terms; it being contrary to their settled rules to take charge of money subject to the orders of unknown people living in distant countries. You might have mentioned, that the house being informed of this, and having no immediate call for the money, did *themselves* adopt the measure of placing it in the stocks, which then were low; where it might on a peace produce a considerable profit, and in the mean time accumulate an interest: That they even passed a bill, directing the subsequent sums granted by parliament, to be placed with the former: that the measure was prudent and safe; and that the loss arose, not from *placing* the money IN the stocks, but from the imprudent and unnecessary DRAWING IT OUT at the very time when they were lowest, on some slight uncertain rumours of a peace concluded: that if the assembly had let it remain another year, instead of losing they would have gained *Six Thousand pounds*; and that after all, since the exchange at which they sold their bills, was near *twenty per cent.* higher when they drew than when the stocks were purchased, the loss was far from being so great as you represent it. All these things you might have said; for they are, and you know them to be, part of the *whole truth*; but they would have spoiled your accusation.—The late speaker of your honourable House, Mr. Norris, (who has, I suppose, all my letters to him, and copies of his own to me, relating to that transaction) can testify with how much integrity

tegrity and clearness I managed the whole affair. All the House were sensible of it, being from time to time fully acquainted with the facts.—If I had gone to gaming in the stocks with the public money, and through my fault a sum was lost, as your protest would insinuate; why was I not censured and punished for it when I returned? You, honourable Sir (my enemy of seven years standing) was then in the House. You were appointed on the committee for examining my accounts; you reported that you found them just, and signed that report *.—I never solicited the employ of agent; I made

* *Report of the Committee on Benjamin Franklin's Accounts.*

" In obedience to the order of the House, we have examined the account of *Benjamin Franklin*, Esq; with the vouchers to us produced in support thereof; and do find the same account to be just, and that he has expended, in the immediate service of this province, the sum of *Seven hundred and Fourteen pounds, Ten shillings and Seven-pence*, out of the sum of *Fifteen hundred pounds* sterling, to him remitted and paid; exclusive of any allowance or charge for his support and services for the province.

February 19, 1763.

JOHN MORTON,	JOHN HUGHES,
WILLIAM ALLEN,	SAMUEL RHODES,
JOHN ROSS,	JOHN WILKINSON,
JOHN MOOR,	ISAAC PEARSON.
JOSEPH FOX,	

" The House taking the foregoing report of the committee of accounts into consideration, and having spent some time therein,

" *Resolved,*

" That the sum of *Five hundred pounds* sterling *per annum* be allowed and given to *Benjamin Franklin*, Esq; late agent for the province of *Pennsylvania* at the court of *Great Britain*, during his absence of six years from his business and connections, in the service of the public; and that the thanks of this House be also given to the said Gentleman by Mr. Speaker, from the chair; as well for the faithful discharge of his duty to this province in particular, as for the many and important services done *America* in general, during his residence in *Great Britain*."

Thursday,

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I made no bargain for my future service, when I was ordered to *England* by the assembly; nor did they vote me any salary. I lived there near six years at my own expence; and I made no charge or demand when I came home. You, Sir, of all others, was the very member that proposed (for the honour and justice of the House) a compensation to be made me of the *Five thousand pounds* you mention. Was it with an intent to reproach me thus publicly for accepting it?—I thanked the House for it then, and I thank you now for proposing it: Though you, who have lived in *England*, can easily conceive, that besides the prejudice to my private affairs by my absence, a *Thousand pounds* more would not have reimbursed me.—The money voted was immediately paid me. But if I had occasioned the loss of *Six thousand pounds* to the province, here was a fair opportunity of securing easily the greatest part of it; why was not the *Five thousand pounds* deducted, and the remainder called for? The reason is, this accusation was not then invented.—Permit me to add,

Thursday, March 31, 1763.

“ Pursuant to a resolve of the nineteenth of last month, that the
 “ thanks of this House be given to *Benjamin Franklin*, Esq: for
 “ his many services not only to the province of *Pennsylvania*, but to
 “ *America* in general, during his late agency at the court of *Great*
 “ *Britain*; the same were this day accordingly given in form from
 “ the chair. — To which Mr. *Franklin*, respectfully addressing
 “ himself to the Speaker, made answer, That he was thankful to
 “ the House, for the very handsome and generous allowance they
 “ had been pleased to make him for his services; but that the ap-
 “ probation of this House was, in his estimation, far above every
 “ other kind of recompence.”

Vattel, 1763.

that

that supposing the whole *Eleven thousand pounds* an expence occasioned by my voyage to *England*; yet the taxation of the proprietary estate now established, will, when valued by years purchase, be found in time an advantage to the public, far exceeding that expence. And if the expence is at present a burthen, the odium of it ought to lie on those who, by their injustice, made the voyage necessary; and not on me, who only submitted to the orders of the house, in undertaking it.

I am now to take leave (perhaps a last leave) of the country I love, and in which I have spent the greatest part of my life.—ESTO PERPETUA.—I wish every kind of prosperity to my friends, —and I forgive my enemies*.

Philadelphia, Nov.

5, 1764.

B. FRANKLIN.

* [Dr. Franklin appears from this passage to have been on the point of returning to England. See also his *Examination*, p. 294. k.]

H h h

PREFACE

PREFACE by a Member of the Pennsylvania Assembly [viz. Dr. Franklin] to the Speech of Joseph Galloway, Esq; one of the Members for Philadelphia County; in Answer to the Speech of John Dickinson, Esq; delivered in the House of Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, May 24, 1764;—on Occasion of a Petition drawn up by Order, and then under the Consideration of the House, praying His Majesty for a Royal, in lieu of a Proprietary, Government*.

IT is not merely because Mr. Dickinson's speech was ushered into the world by a *preface*, that one is made to this of Mr. Galloway. But as in

* [As I am very much unacquainted with the history and principles of these provincial politics, I shall confine myself to some imperfect anecdotes concerning the parties, &c. —A speech which Mr. Dickinson had delivered in the Pennsylvania assembly against the abolition of the proprietary government, having been published, and a preface having been written to it as I think by a Dr. Smith; Mr. Galloway's speech was held forth as a proper answer to that speech, while the *preface* to it appeared balanced by the above preface from Dr. Franklin. Mr. Galloway's speech, or probably the advertisement that attended it, urged, I believe, Mr. Dickinson first to a challenge, and then to a printed reply. —The controversy was quickly republished in England, or at least the principal parts of it; and it is from the English edition of Mr. Galloway's speech, (printed in London by Nichols in 1765) that I have copied the above.

These several gentlemen however seem for a time to have better agreed in their subsequent opinions, concerning American taxation by Great Britain; Mr. Dickinson in particular having taken a very spirited line in the *Farmer's Letters* and other pieces, which procured him considerable reputation. The Congress declaration nevertheless for independence, was reported not to have given perfect satisfaction, at first, either to himself or to Mr. Galloway. And in the event, Mr. Galloway, thought proper to come over to General Howe, and afterwards to embark for England. E.]

that

that preface a number of aspersions were thrown on our assemblies, and their proceedings grossly misrepresented; it was thought necessary to wipe those aspersions off by some proper animadversions; and by a true state of facts, to rectify those misrepresentations.

The preface begins with saying, that ‘Governor Denny, (whose administration will never be mentioned but with disgrace in the annals of this province,) was induced by considerations to which the world is now no stranger, to pass sundry acts,’ &c. thus insinuating, that by some unusual base bargain secretly made, but afterwards discovered, he was induced to pass them.

It is fit, therefore, without undertaking to justify all that Governor’s administration, to shew *what* those considerations were.—Ever since the revenue of the quit-rents first, and after that, the revenue of tavern-licences, were settled irrevocably on our proprietors and governors; they have looked on those incomes as their proper estate, for which they were under no obligations to the people: and when they afterwards concurred in passing any useful laws, they considered them as so many jobs, for which they ought to be particularly paid. Hence arose the custom of *pre-sents* twice a year to the Governors, at the close of each session in which laws were passed, given at the time of passing: they usually amounted to a thousand pounds per annum. But when the Governors and Assemblies disagreed, so that laws were

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were not passed, the presents were withheld. — When a disposition to agree ensued, there sometimes still remained some *diffidence*. The Governors would not pass the laws that were wanted, without being sure of the money, even all that they called their arrears; nor the Assemblies give the money without being sure of the laws. Thence the necessity of some private conference, in which mutual assurances of good faith might be received and given, that the transactions should go hand in hand. — What name the impartial reader will give to this kind of commerce, I cannot say: To me it appears an extortion of more money from the people, for that to which they had before an undoubted right, both by the constitution and by purchase; but there was no other shop they could go to for the commodity they wanted; and they were obliged to comply. Time established the custom, and made it seem honest; so that our Governors, even those of the most undoubted honour, have practised it. — Governor *Thomas*, after a long misunderstanding with the Assembly, went more openly to work with them in managing this commerce, and they with him. The fact is curious, as it stands recorded in the votes of 1742-3. Sundry bills sent up to the Governor for his assent had lain long in his hands, without any answer. Jan. 4. the House ‘Ordered, That
 ‘ Thomas Leech and Edward Warner wait upon
 ‘ the Governor; and acquaint him, that the House
 ‘ had long waited for his result on the bills that
 ‘ lie before him, and desire to know when they
 ‘ may

' may expect it: ' The gentlemen return, and re-
 port, ' That they waited upon the Governor, and
 delivered the message of the House according to
 order; and that the Governor was pleased to say,
 ' He had had the bills long under consideration,
 ' and waited the result of the House.' The House
 well understood this hint; and immediately re-
 solved into a committee of the whole House, to
 take what was called *the Governor's support* into
 consideration; in which they made (the minutes
 say) *some progress*; and the next morning it ap-
 pears, that that *progress*, whatever it was, had
 been communicated to him; for he sent them
 down this message by his secretary: ' Mr. Speaker,
 ' The Governor commands me to acquaint you,
 ' that as he has received assurances of a *good dis-*
 ' *position* in the House, he thinks it incumbent on
 ' him to shew *the like* on his part; and therefore
 ' sends down the bills which lay before him,
 ' without any amendment.' As this message only
 shewed a good disposition, but contained no pro-
 mise to pass the bills, the House seem to have had
 their doubts; and therefore, February 2, when
 they came to resolve, on the report of the grand
 committee, to give the money, they guarded their
 resolves very cautiously, viz. ' Resolved, That *on*
 ' *the passage* of such bills as now lie before the
 ' Governor, (the naturalization bill, and such
 ' other bills as may be presented to him during
 ' this sitting) there be PAID him the sum of *Five*
 ' *hundred pounds*. Resolved also, That on the
 ' passage of such bills as now lie before the Go-
 ' vernor

' verner (the naturalization bill, and such other
 ' bills as may be presented to him this sitting)
 ' there be PAID to the Governor the *further* sum
 ' of *One thousand pounds*, for the current year's
 ' support; and that orders be drawn on the treasurer and trustees of the loan-office, pursuant to these resolves.' The orders were accordingly drawn; with which being acquainted, he appointed a time to pass the bills; which was done with one hand, while he received the orders in the other: and then with the utmost politeness [he] thanked the House for the Fifteen hundred pounds, as if it had been a pure free gift, and a mere mark of their respect and affection. 'I thank you, Gentlemen (says he) for this instance of your regard; which I am the more pleased with, as it gives an agreeable prospect of *future* harmony between me and the representatives of the people.'—This, reader, is an exact counterpart of the transaction with Governor Denny; except that Denny sent word to the House, that he would pass the bills *before* they voted the support. And yet *here* was no proprietary clamour about bribery, &c.—And why so? Why at that time the *proprietary* family, by virtue of a *secret bond* they had obtained of the Governor at his appointment, were to *share with* him the sums so obtained of the people!

This reservation of the proprietaries they were at that time a little ashamed of; and therefore such bonds were then to be secrets. But as in every kind of sinning frequent repetition lessens shame,

shame, and increases boldness; we find the *proprietaries* ten years afterwards, openly insisting on these advantages to themselves, *over and above* what was paid to their deputy: 'Wherefore (say they *) on this occasion it is necessary that we should inform the people, through yourselves their representatives; that as by the constitution our CONSENT IS NECESSARY to their LAWS, at the same time that they have an *undoubted right* to such as are necessary for the defence and real service of the country; so it will tend the better to *facilitate* the several matters which must be transacted with us, for their representatives to shew a *regard to us* and our INTEREST.' This was in their answer to the representation of the assembly, [Votes, December, 1754, p. 48.] on the justice of their contributing to Indian expences, which they had refused.—And on this clause the committee make the following remark: 'They tell us, their consent is necessary to our laws, and that it will tend the better to facilitate the matters which must be transacted with them, for the representatives to shew a regard to their INTEREST: That is, (as we understand it) though the Proprietaries have a deputy here, supported by the province, who is, or ought to be, fully empowered to pass all laws necessary for the service of the country; yet, before we can obtain such laws, we must facilitate their passage by paying money for the proprietaries, which they ought to pay; or in some shape make it

* [i. e. to the Assembly. E.]

' their

• their particular INTEREST to pass them. We
• hope, however, that if this practice has ever
• been begun, it will never be continued in this
• province; and that since, as this very paragraph
• allows, we have an undoubted right to such
• laws, we shall always be able to obtain them from
• the goodness of our sovereign, without going to
• market for them to a subject. — Time has shewn
• that those hopes were vain; they have been obliged
• to go to that market ever since, directly or indi-
• rectly; or go without their laws. The practice
• has continued: and will continue, as long as the
• proprietary government subsists, intervening be-
• tween the crown and the people.

Do not, my courteous reader, take pet at our
proprietary constitution, for these our bargain and
sale proceedings in legislation. — It is a happy
country where justice, and what was your own
before, can be had for ready money. It is ano-
ther addition to the value of money, and of
course another spur to industry. — Every land is
not so blessed. There are countries where the
princely proprietor claims to be lord of all pro-
perty, where what is your own shall not only be
wrested from you; but the money you give to have
it restored shall be kept with it; and your offering
so much, being a sign of your being too rich, you
shall be plundered of every thing that remained.
These times are not come here yet: Your present
proprietors have never been more unreasonable
hitherto, than barely to insist on your fighting in
defence of *their* property, and paying the expence
your-

yourselves; or if their estates must [ah! *must*] be taxed towards it, that the *best* of their lands shall be taxed no higher than the *worst* of yours.

Pardon this digression, and I return to Governor Denny;—But first let me do Governor *Milton* the justice to observe, that whether from the uprightness of his own disposition, or from the odious light the practice had been set in on Denny's account, or from both; he did not attempt these bargains, but passed such laws as he thought fit to pass, without any *previous* stipulation of pay for them. But then, when he saw the assembly tardy in the payment he expected, and yet calling upon him still to pass more laws; he openly put them in mind of the money, as a *debt* due to him from custom. 'in the course of the present year (says he, in his message of July 8, 1763,) a great deal of public business hath been transacted by me, and I believe as many useful laws enacted, as by any of my predecessors in the same space of time; yet I have not understood that any allowance hath hitherto been made to me for my support, as hath been customary in this province.' The house having then some bills in hand, took the matter into immediate consideration, and voted him five hundred pounds; for which an order or certificate was accordingly drawn: And on the same day the speaker, after the house had been with the governor, reported, 'That his Honour had been pleased to give his assent to the bills, by enacting the same into laws. And Mr. Speaker farther re-

' ported, That he had then, in behalf of the house,
' presented their certificate of Five hundred Pounds
' to the Governor; who was pleased to say, he was
' obliged to the house for the same.'—Thus we
see the practice of purchasing and paying for laws
is interwoven with our proprietary constitution,
used in the best times, and under the best Govern-
ors.—And yet, alas poor assembly! how will
you steer your brittle bark between these rocks?
If you pay *ready money* for your laws, and those
laws are not liked by the proprietaries, you are
charged with bribery and corruption: If you *wait*
a while before you pay, you are accused of detain-
ing the Governor's customary right, and dunned
as a negligent or dishonest debtor, that refuses to
discharge a just debt!

But Governor Denny's case, I shall be told,
differs from all these; for the acts he was induced
to pass were, as the Prefacer tells us, '*contrary*
' *to his duty, and to every tie of honour and jus-*
' *tice.*' Such is the imperfection of our language,
and perhaps of all other languages, that notwith-
standing we are furnished with dictionaries innu-
merable, we cannot precisely know the import
of words, unless we know of what party the man
is that uses them.—In the mouth of an *assembly-*
man, or true Pennsylvanian, "contrary to his duty
" and to every tie of honour and justice," would
mean; the Governor's long refusal to pass laws,
however just and necessary, for taxing the pro-
prietary estate: A refusal, contrary to the trust
reposed

reposed in the Lieutenant-Governor by the royal charter to the rights of the people, whose welfare it was his duty to promote; and to the nature of the contract made between the Governor and the governed, when the quit-rents and licence fees were established, which confirmed what the proprietaries call our "undoubted right" to necessary laws.—But in the mouth of the *Proprietaries*, or their creatures, "contrary to his duty, and to "every tie of justice and honour," means his passing laws contrary to proprietary instructions; and contrary to the bonds he had previously given to observe those instructions: Instructions however, that were unjust and unconstitutional; and bonds, that were illegal and void from the beginning.

Much has been said of the *wickedness* of Governor Denny in passing, and of the assembly in prevailing with him to pass, those acts. By the Prefacer's account of them, you would think the laws so obtained were *all* bad; for he speaks of but *seven*; of which *fix* he says were repealed, and the seventh reported to be 'fundamentally wrong' and *unjust*; 'and ought to be repealed, *unless* *fix* certain amendments were made therein *.' Whereas in fact there were *nineteen* of them; and several of those must have been good laws, for even the Proprietaries did not object to them. Of the eleven that they opposed, only

* This act is intitled, An act for granting to his Majesty the sum of one hundred thousand pounds; striking the same in bills of credit, and sinking the bills by a tax on all estates real and personal.

fix were repealed; so that it seems these good Gentlemen may themselves be sometimes as wrong in opposing, as the assembly in enacting laws.—But the words “fundamentally wrong and “UNJUST” are the great fund of triumph to the Proprietaries and their partizans. These their subsequent Governors have unmercifully dinned in the ears of the assembly on all occasions ever since; for they make a part of near a dozen of their messages.—They have rung the changes on those words, till they worked them up to say that the law was fundamentally wrong and unjust in *fix several articles*; (Governor's message, May 17, 1764.) instead of ‘ought to be repealed, *unless* ‘fix alterations or amendments could be made ‘therein.’—A law unjust in fix several articles, must be an unjust law indeed. Let us therefore, once for all, *examine* this unjust law, article by article; in order to see whether our assemblies have been such villains as they have been represented.

The *first* particular in which their lordships proposed the act should be amended was, ‘That ‘the real estates to be taxed, be *defined with precision*; so as not to include the unsurveyed waste ‘land belonging to the proprietaries.’—This was at most but an *obscurity* to be cleared up. and though the law might well appear to their lordships uncertain in that particular; with us, who better know our own customs, and that the proprietaries waste unsurveyed land was never here considered among estates real, subject to taxation; there

there was not the least doubt or supposition, that such lands were included in the words "all estates " real and personal." The agents therefore *, knowing that the assembly had no intention to tax those lands, might well suppose they would readily agree to remove the obscurity.—Before we go farther, let it be observed, that the main design of the proprietaries in opposing this act was, to *prevent their estates being taxed at all*. But as they know that the doctrine of proprietary exemption, which they had endeavoured to enforce here, could not be supported there*; they bent their whole strength against the act on *other* principles to procure its repeal; pretending great willingness to submit to an equitable tax; but that the assembly, (out of mere malice, because they had conscientiously quitted Quakerism for the church!) were wickedly determined to ruin them, to tax all their unsurveyed wilderness-lands, and at the highest rates; and by that means exempt themselves and the people, and throw the whole burden of the war on the proprietary family.—How foreign these charges were from the truth, need not be told to any man in Pennsylvania. And as the proprietors knew that the hundred thousand pounds of paper money, struck for the defence of *their* enormous estates, with others; was actually issued, spread through the country, and in the hands of thousands of poor people, who had given their labour for it; how base, cruel,

* [i. e. In England I suppose, when the laws were brought home to receive the King's assent. E.]

and

and inhuman it was to endeavour, by a repeal of the act, to strike the money dead in those hands at one blow, and reduce it all to waste paper; to the utter confusion of all trade and dealings, and the ruin of multitudes, merely to avoid paying their own just tax!—Words may be wanting to express,—but minds will easily conceive,—and never without abhorrence!

The *second* amendment proposed by their Lordships was, ‘That the located uncultivated lands belonging to the proprietaries shall not be assessed higher than the *lowest* rate, at which any located uncultivated lands belonging to the inhabitants shall be assessed.’—Had there been any provision in the act, that the proprietaries lands, and those of the people, of the same value, should be taxed differently, the one high, and the other low; the act might well have been called in this particular fundamentally wrong and unjust. But as there is no such clause, this cannot be one of the particulars on which the charge is founded; but, like the first, is merely a requisition to make the act *clear*; by express directions therein, that the proprietaries estate should not be, as they pretended to believe it would be, taxed higher in proportion to its value than the estates of others.—As to their present claim, founded on that article, ‘that the best and most valuable of their lands, should be taxed no higher than the worst and least valuable of the people’s,’ it was not *then* thought of; they made no such demand; nor did any one dream that so iniquitous a claim

a claim would ever be made by men who had the least pretence to the characters of honourable and honest.

The *third* particular was, 'That all lands *not granted* by the proprietaries *within boroughs and towns*; be deemed located uncultivated lands, 'and rated accordingly; and not as lots.' The clause in the act that this relates to is, 'And whereas many valuable lots of ground within the city of Philadelphia, and the several boroughs and towns within this province, remain unimproved; Be it enacted, &c. That *all* such unimproved lots of ground within the city and boroughs aforesaid shall be rated and assessed according to their situation and value, for and towards raising the money hereby granted.'—The reader will observe, that the word is, *all* unimproved lots; and that *all* comprehends the lots belonging to the people, as well as those of the proprietary. There were many of the former; and a number belonging even to members of the then Assembly; and considering the value, the tax must be proportionably as grievous to them, as the proprietary's to him.—Is there among us a single man, even a proprietary relation, officer, or dependant, so insensible of the differences of right and wrong, and so confused in his notions of just and unjust; as to think and say, that the act in this particular was fundamentally wrong and unjust? I believe not one.—What then could their Lordships mean by the proposed amendment? Their meaning is easily explained. The proprietaries

ries have considerable tracts of *land* within the bounds of boroughs and towns, that have not yet been divided into lots: They pretended to believe, that by virtue of this clause an imaginary division would be made of *those* lands into lots, and an extravagant value set on such imaginary lots, greatly to their prejudice.—It was answered, that no such thing was intended by the act; and that by lots was meant only such ground as *bad* been surveyed and divided into lots; and not the open undivided lands.—If this only is intended, say their lordships, then let the act be amended, so as *clearly* to express what is intended. This is the full amount of the third particular.—How the act was understood here, is well known by the execution of it before the dispute came on in England, and therefore before their lordships' opinion on the point could be given; of which full proof shall presently be made.—In the mean time it appears, that the act was not on *this* account fundamentally wrong and unjust.

The *fourth* particular is, 'That the governor's consent and approbation be made necessary to every issue and application of the money, to be raised by virtue of such act.'—The assembly intended this, and thought they had done it in the act. The words of the clause being, 'That [the commissioners named] or the major part of them, or of the survivors of them, *with the consent* or approbation of the governor or commander in chief of this province for the time being; shall order and appoint *the disposition of*

‘ *the monies* arising by virtue of this act, for and
 ‘ towards paying and clothing two thousand
 ‘ seven hundred effective men,’ &c. — It was understood here, that as the power of disposing was expressly to be with the consent and approbation of the Governor; the commissioners had no power to dispose of the money without that approbation: But their lordships, jealous (as their station requires) of this prerogative of the crown, and being better acquainted with the force and weakness of law expression; did not think the clause explicit enough, unless the words “ *and not otherwise* ” were added, or some other words equivalent. — This particular therefore was no more than another requisition of greater *clearness* and precision; and by no means a foundation for the charge of fundamentally wrong and unjust.

The *5th* particular was, ‘ That *provincial* commissioners be named, to hear and *determine appeals*, brought on the part of the inhabitants, as well as the proprietaries.’ — There was already subsisting a provision for the appointment of *county* commissioners of appeal; by whom the act might be, and actually has been (as we shall presently shew) justly and impartially executed with regard to the proprietaries; But *provincial* commissioners appointed in the act it was thought might be of use, in regulating and equalizing the modes of assessment of different counties, where they were unequal; and, by affording a second appeal, tend more to the satisfaction both of the proprietaries and the people. — This particular was

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therefore

therefore a mere proposed improvement of the act; which could not be, and was not, in this respect, denominated fundamentally wrong and unjust.

We have now gone through five of the six proposed amendments, without discovering any thing on which that censure could be founded; but the *fixth* remains; which points at a part of the act wherein we must candidly acknowledge there is something, that, in their lordships view of it, must justify their judgment: The words of the *fixth* article are, 'That the payments by the tenants to the *proprietarys* of their rents, shall be according to the terms of their respective grants; as if such act had never been passed.'—This relates to that clause of the act by which the *paper money* was made a *legal tender* in 'discharge of all manner of debts, rents, sum and sums of money whatsoever, &c. at the rates ascertained in the act of parliament made in the sixth of Queen Anne.'—From the great injustice frequently done to creditors, and complained of from the colonies, by the vast depreciation of paper bills; it was become a general fixed principle with the ministry, that such bills (whose value, though fixed in the act, could not be kept fixed by the act) ought *not* to be made a legal tender in any colony at those rates. The parliament had before passed an act to take that tender away in the four New-England colonies, and have since made the act general. This was what their lordships would therefore have proposed for the amendment.—But it being represented, That the chief

chief support of the credit of the bills was the legal tender; and that without it they would become of no value, it was allowed generally to remain; with an exception to the *proprieties* rents, where * there was a special contract for payment in another coin. — It cannot be denied but that *this* was doing justice to the proprietaries; and that, had the requisition been in favour of *all other* creditors also, the justice had been equal, as being general. We do not therefore presume to impeach their lordships judgment, that the act, as it enforced the acceptance of bills for money at a value which they had only nominally, and not really; was in that respect fundamentally wrong and unjust. — And yet we believe the *Reader* will not think the assembly so much to blame, when he considers that the making paper bills a legal tender had been the universal mode in America for more than threescore years; that there was scarce a colony that had not practised that mode more or less: That it had always been thought absolutely necessary, in order to give the bills a credit, and thereby obtain from them the uses of money: That the inconveniences were therefore submitted to, for the sake of the greater conveniences: That acts innumerable of the like kind had been approved by the crown: And that if the assembly made the bills a legal tender at those rates to the proprietaries; they made them also a legal tender to themselves, and all their constituents; many of

[Possibly this word *where*, means *subtervent*. E.]

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whom

whom might suffer in their rents, &c. as much in proportion to their estates as the proprietaries. —But if he cannot on these considerations quite excuse the assembly, what will he think of those *beneurable* proprietaries; who, when paper money was issued in their colony, for the *common defence* of their vast estates with those of the people, and who must therefore reap at least equal advantages from those bills with the people; could nevertheless wish to be exempted from their share of the unavoidable disadvantages. Is there upon earth a man besides, with any conception of what is honest, with any notion of honour, with the least tincture in his veins of the Gentleman; but would have blushed at the thought; but would have rejected with disdain such undue preference, if it had been offered him? Much less would he have struggled for it, moved heaven and earth to obtain it, resolved to ruin thousands of his tenants by a repeal of the act, rather than miss of it*; and enforce it afterwards by an audaciously wicked instruction; forbidding aids to his king, and exposing the province to destruction, unless it was complied with. And yet, — These are HONOURABLE men †.

* This would have been done, and the money all sunk in the hands of the people; if the agents, *Benjamin Franklin* and *Robert Charles*, had not interposed, and voluntarily, without authority from the assembly so to do, but at their own risque; undertaken that those amendments should be made, or that they themselves would indemnify the proprietaries from any damages they might sustain for want thereof. An action which, as the preface says in another case, “posterity perhaps may find a name for.”

† It is not easy to guess from what source our proprietaries have drawn their principles. Those who study law and justice as a science have

Here then we have had a full view of the *Assembly's* injustice; about which there has been so much insolent triumph!—But let the proprietaries and their discreet deputies hereafter recollect and remember, that the same august tribunal which censured some of the modes and circumstances of that act, did at the same time establish and confirm the grand principle of the act, viz. “That the proprietary estate ought, with other estates, to be taxed:” And thereby did in effect determine and pronounce, that the opposition so long made in various shapes to that just principle, by the *proprietaries*, was fundamentally wrong and unjust. An injustice they were not, like the Assembly, under any necessity of committing for the public good; or any other necessity, but what was imposed on them by those base passions that act the tyrant in bad minds; their selfishness, their pride, and their avarice.

I have frequently mentioned the *equitable intentions* of the *House* in those parts of the act that were supposed obscure, and how they were understood here.—A clear proof thereof is found, as I have already said, in the actual execution of the act: In the execution of it before the contest about it in England; and therefore before their Lordships objections to it had a being.—When the re-

have established it a maxim in equity, “*Qui sentit commodum, sentire debet et onus.*” And so consistent is this with the common sense of mankind, that even our lowest untaught cobblers and porters feel the force of it in their own maxim (which *they* are honest enough never to dispute) “*Touch pot, touch penny.*”

port

port came over, and was laid before the House, one year's tax had been levied : and the Assembly, conscious that no injustice had been intended to the proprietaries, and willing to rectify it if any should appear : appointed a *committee* of members from the several counties to examine into the state of the proprietaries taxes through the province, and nominated on that committee a gentleman of known attachment to the proprietaries, and their Chief Justice, Mr. Allen ; to the end that the strictest inquiry might be made.—*Their report* was as follows : ‘ We, the committee appointed ‘ to inquire into, and consider the state of the ‘ proprietary taxation through the several counties, and report the same to the House ; have, ‘ in pursuance of the said appointment, carefully ‘ examined the returns of property, and compared them with the respective assessments thereof on made through the whole province ;—and ‘ find, *First*, That no part of the *unsurveyed* waste ‘ lands belonging to the proprietaries have, in any ‘ instance, been included in the estates taxed. ‘ *Secondly*, That some of the *located uncultivated* ‘ lands belonging to the proprietaries in several ‘ counties *remain unassessed* ; and are not in any ‘ county assessed higher, than the lands under like ‘ circumstances belonging to the inhabitants. ‘ *Thirdly*, That all *lands, not* granted by the proprietaries, *within boroughs and towns*, remain ‘ *untaxed* ; excepting in a few instances, and in ‘ those they are rated as *low*, as the lands which ‘ are granted in the said boroughs and towns. ‘ The

‘ The whole of the *proprietary* tax of eighteen pence in the pound, amounts to 566*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*
 ‘ And the sum of the tax on the *inhabitants* for the same year amounts, through the several counties, to 27,103*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* And it is the opinion of your committee that there has not been any injustice done to the proprietaries, or attempts made to rate or assess any part of their estates higher than the estates of the like kind belonging to the inhabitants are rated and assessed;—but on the contrary, we find that their estates are rated, in many instances, below others.

‘ *Thomas Leech,* *George Asbridge,*
 ‘ *Joseph Fox,* *Emanuel Carpenter,*
 ‘ *Samuel Rboads,* *John Blackburn,*
 ‘ *Abraham Chapman,* *William Allen.*

The house communicated this report to governor *Hamilton*, when he afterwards pressed them to make the stipulated act of amendment; acquainting him at the same time, that as in the execution of the act no injustice *had* hitherto been done to the proprietary, so, by a yearly inspection of the assessments, they would take care that none *should* be done him; for that if any should appear, or the governor could at any time point out to them any that had been done, they would immediately rectify it; and therefore, as the act was shortly to expire, they did not think the amendments necessary.—Thus that matter ended during *that* administration.

And had his successor, Governor *Penn*, permitted it still to sleep; we are of opinion it had been

been more to the honour of the family, and of his own discretion. But he was pleased to found upon it a *claim* manifestly unjust, and which he was totally destitute of reason to support. A claim, that the proprietaries best and most valuable located uncultivated lands, should be taxed *no higher* than the worst and least valuable of those belonging to the inhabitants: To enforce which, as he thought the words of one of the stipulations seemed to give some countenance to it, he insisted on using those very words as sacred; from which he could “neither in decency or in duty,” deviate; though he had agreed to deviate from words [in] the same report, and therefore equally sacred in every other instance. A conduct which will (as the prefacer says in Governor Denny’s case) for ever disgrace the annals of *his* administration*.—Never did any administration open with a more *promising* prospect [than this of Governor Penn]. He assured the people, in his first speeches, of the proprietaries paternal regard for them, and their sincere dispositions to do every thing that might promote their happiness. As the proprietaries had been pleased to appoint a son of the family to the government, it was thought not unlikely that there might be something in these professions; for that they would probably choose to have his administration made easy and agreeable; and to that end might think it prudent to withdraw those harsh, disagreeable, and unjust instructions with

* For a fuller account of this dispute the reader is referred to the news papers, and votes of Assembly.

which

which most of his predecessors had been hampered:—The assembly therefore believed fully, and rejoiced sincerely. They shewed the new governor every mark of respect and regard that was in their power. They readily and cheerfully went into every thing he recommended to them. And when he and his authority were insulted and endangered by a lawless murdering mob; they and their friends took arms at his call, and formed themselves round him for his defence, and the support of his government.—But when it was found that those mischievous instructions still subsisted, and were even farther extended; when the governor began, unprovoked, to send the house affronting messages, seizing every imaginary occasion of reflecting on their conduct; when every other symptom appeared of fixt deep-rooted family malice, which could but a little while bear the unnatural covering that had been thrown over it; What wonder is it if all the old wounds broke out and bled afresh; if all the old grievances, still unredressed, were recollected; if despair succeeded of [seeing] any peace with a family, that could make such returns to all their overtures of kindness! And when in the very proprietary council, composed of staunch friends of the family, and chosen for their attachment to it; it was observed; that the *old men* (1 Kings, chap. xii.) withdrew themselves, finding their opinion slighted, and that all measures were taken by the advice of two or three *young men* (one of whom too denies his share in them;) is it any wonder, since like causes produce like effects, if the

assembly, notwithstanding all their veneration for the first proprietor, should say, with the children of Israel under the same circumstances, "What position have we in DAVID, or inheritance in the son of JESSE? To your tents, O Israel!"

Under these circumstances, and a conviction that while so many natural sources of difference subsisted between proprietaries and people, no harmony in government could long subsist, (without which neither the commands of the crown could be executed, nor the public good promoted) the house resumed the consideration of a measure that had often been proposed in former assemblies; a measure, that every *proprietary province in America* had, from the same causes, found themselves obliged to take; and had actually taken, or were about to take; and a measure, that had happily succeeded, wherever it was taken;—I mean the recourse to an immediate ROYAL GOVERNMENT.

They therefore, after a thorough debate; and making no less than twenty-five *unanimous* resolves, expressing the many grievances this province had long laboured under; through the proprietary government; came to the following resolution, *viz.* "Resolved, nemine contradicente, That this house will adjourn, in order to *consult their constituents*, whether an humble *address* should be drawn up and transmitted to *his Majesty*; praying that he would be graciously pleased to take the people of this province under his immediate

" mediate

“mediate protection and government; by completing the agreement heretofore made with the first proprietary for the sale of the government to the crown, or otherwise as to his wisdom and goodness shall seem meet*.”

This they ordered to be made public; and it was published accordingly in all the news-papers: The house then adjourned for no less than *seven weeks*, to give their constituents time to consider the matter, and themselves an opportunity of taking their opinion and advice. Could anything be more deliberate, more fair and open, or more respectful to the people that chose them?—During this recess, the people in many places held little meetings with each other; the result of which was, that they would manifest their sentiments to their representatives, by petitioning the crown directly of themselves, and requesting the assembly to transmit and support those petitions.—At the next meeting many of these petitions were delivered to the house with that request; they were signed by a very great + number of the most substantial

* These words, “by completing the agreement,” &c. are omitted by the honest prefacer, in his account of the resolve, that they might not interfere with his insinuation of the measure’s being impracticable, “Have the proprietors, by any act of theirs, forfeited the least title of what was granted them by his Majesty’s royal ancestors? Or can they be *deprived* of their charter rights without their consent?” &c. Sensible that these questions are impertinent, if those rights are already sold.

+ The prefacer, with great art, endeavours to represent this number as insignificant.—He says the petitioners were but 3500, and that the province contains near three hundred thousand SOULS! His reader is to imagine that TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY SIX

substantial inhabitants; and not the least intimation was received by the assembly from any other of their constituents, that the method was *disapproved*; except in a petition from an obscure township in Lancaster county, to which there were about forty names indeed, but all evidently signed by three hands only.—What could the assembly infer from the expressed willingness of a part, and silence of the rest; but that the measure was universally agreeable? They accordingly resumed the consideration of it; And though a small, very small opposition then appeared to it in the house; yet as even that was founded not on the impropriety of the thing, but on the supposed unsuitableness of the time or the manner, and a majority of nine tenths being still for it;

SIX THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED of them were applied to, and refused to sign it.—The truth is, that his number of souls is vastly exaggerated. The dwelling-houses in the province in 1752 did not exceed 20,000. Political arithmeticians reckon generally but five souls to a house, one house with another: and therefore, allowing for houses since built, there are not probably more than an hundred and ten thousand souls in the province: That of these, scarce twenty two thousand *could* with any propriety be petitioners.—And considering the scattered settlement of the province; the general inattention of mankind, especially in new countries, to public affairs; and the indefatigable pains taken by the proprietaries' new allies the Presbyterian clergy of Philadelphia, (who wrote circular letters to every congregation in the county, to deter them from petitioning, by dutiful intimations, that if we were reduced to a royal government, it would be the "ruin of the province,") it is a wonder the number (near a sixth part) was so great as it was.—But if there had been no such petitions, it would not have been material to the point. The assembly went upon another foundation. They had adjourned to consult their constituents; they retained satisfied that the measure was agreeable to them, and nothing appeared to the contrary.

a petition

a petition was drawn agreeable to the former resolve, and ordered to be transmitted to his Majesty.

But the prefacer tells us, that these *petitioners* for a change, were a "number of rash, ignorant, " and inconsiderate people;" and generally of a *low rank*. To be sure they were not of the proprietary officers, dependants, or expectants; and those are chiefly the people of high rank among us;—but they were otherwise generally men of the best estates in the province, and men of reputation. The assembly, who come from all parts of the country, and therefore may be supposed to know them, at least as well as the prefacer; have given that testimony of them:—But what is the testimony of the assembly; who in his opinion are equally rash, ignorant, and inconsiderate with the petitioners?—And if his judgment is right, how imprudently and contrary to their charter, have his THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND SOULS acted in their elections of assembly-men these twenty years past; for the charter requires them to choose men of *most note for virtue, wisdom, and ability!*

But these are qualities, engrossed it seems by the *Proprietary* party.—For they say, 'the WISER and BETTER part of the province had far different notions of this measure: They considered that the moment they put their hands to these petitions they might be surrendering up their birthright.' I felicitate them on the *honour* they have thus bestowed upon themselves; on the *sincere* compliments thus given and accepted; and on their having with such noble freedom discarded
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the snivelling pretence to modesty, couched in that thread-bare form of words, "Though we say it, that should not say it."—But is it not surprising that, during the seven weeks recess of the assembly, expressly to consult their constituents on the expediency of this measure; and during the fourteen days the House sat deliberating on it after they met again; these their wisdoms and betternesses should never be so kind as to communicate the least scrap of their prudence, their knowledge, or their consideration, to their rash, ignorant, and inconsiderate representatives?—Wisdom in the mind is not like money in the purse, diminished by communication to others: They might have lighted up our farthing candles for us, without lessening the blaze of their own flambeaux. But they suffered our representatives to go on in the dark till the fatal deed was done; and the petition sent to the King, praying him to take the government of this province into his immediate care: Whereby, if it succeeds, 'our glorious plan of public liberty, 'and charter of privileges is to be bartered away, and we are to be made slaves for ever! Cruel simony! to refuse the charity of a little understanding; when God had given you so much, and the Assembly begged it as an alms! O that you had but for once remembered and observed the counsel of that wise poet Pope, where he says,

"Be Niggards of Advice on no pretence;
"For the worst Avarice is that of Sense."

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In the constitution of our government and in that of one more, there still remains a particular thing that none of the other American governments have; to wit, the appointment of a Governor by the *Proprietors*, instead of an appointment by the *Crown*.—This particular in government has been found inconvenient; attended with contentions and confusions wherever it existed; and has therefore been gradually taken away from colony after colony, and every where greatly to the satisfaction and happiness of the people.—Our wise first Proprietor and Founder was fully sensible of this; and being desirous of leaving his people happy, and preventing the mischiefs that he foresaw must in time arise from that circumstance if it was continued; he determined to take it away, if possible, during his own lifetime. They accordingly entered into a contract for the sale of the proprietary right of government to the crown; and actually received a sum in part of the consideration. As he found himself likely to die before that contract (and with it, his plan for the happiness of his people) could be completed; he carefully made it a part of his last will and testament; devising the right of the government to two noble lords, in trust, that they should release it to the crown.—Unfortunately for us, this has never yet been done. And this is merely what the assembly now desire to have done.—Surely he that formed our constitution, must have understood it. If he had imagined that all our privileges depended on the proprietary government; will any one suppose, that

that he would himself have meditated the change; that he would have taken such effectual measures as he thought them, to bring it about speedily, whether he should live or die? Will any of those who now extol him so highly, charge him at the same time with the baseness of endeavouring thus to defraud his people of all the liberties and privileges he had promised them, and by the most solemn charters and grants assured to them, when he engaged them to assist him in the settlement of his province? Surely none can be so inconsistent! — And yet this proprietary right of governing or appointing a governor has all of a sudden changed its nature; and the preservation of it become of so much importance to the welfare of the province; that the assembly's only petitioning to have their venerable founder's will executed, and the contract he entered into for the good of his people completed, is stiled, an 'attempt to violate the constitution for which our fathers planted a wilderness; to barter away our glorious plan of public liberty and charter privileges; a misquoting of the whole constitution; an offering up our whole charter rights; a wanton sporting with things sacred,' &c.

Pleasant surely it is to hear the proprietary partisans, of all men, bawling for the constitution; and affecting a terrible concern for our liberties and privileges. They, who have been these twenty years cursing our constitution, declaring that it was no constitution, or worse than none; and that things could never be well with us ~~if~~ it was new

new modelled, and made exactly conformable to the British constitution : They who have treated our distinguishing privileges as so many illegalities and absurdities ; who have solemnly declared in print, that though such privileges might be proper in the infancy of a colony to encourage its settlement, they became unfit for it in its grown state, and ought to be taken away : They who by numberless falsehoods, propagated with infinite industry in the mother country, attempted to procure an act of parliament for the actual depriving a very great part of the people of their privileges : They too who have already deprived the whole people of some of their most important rights, and are daily endeavouring to deprive them of the rest : Are these, become patriots and advocates for our constitution ?—Wonderful change ! Astonishing conversion !—Will the wolves then protect the sheep, if they can but persuade them to give up their dogs ? Yes ; the assembly would destroy all their own rights, and those of the people ; and the proprietary partizans are become the champions for liberty !—Let those who have faith now make use of it : For if it is rightly defined, the evidence of things not seen ; certainly never was there more occasion for such evidence, the case being totally destitute of all other.—

It has been long observed, that men are with that party, angels or demons, just as they happen to concur with or oppose their measures. And I mention it for the comfort of *old sinners*, that

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in politics, as well as in religion; repentance and amendment, though late, shall obtain forgiveness, and procure favour.—Witness the late speaker, Mr. Norris; a steady and constant opposer of all the proprietary encroachments; and whom, for thirty years past, they have been therefore continually abusing, allowing him no one virtue or good quality whatsoever: But now, as he shewed some unwillingness to engage in this present application to the crown, he is become all at once the “faithful servant;”—but let me look at the text, to avoid mistakes—and indeed I was mistaken—I thought it had been “faithful servant of the public;” but I find it is only—“of the house.” Well chosen, that expression, and prudently guarded. The former, from a proprietary pen, would have been praise too much; only for disapproving the *time* of the application.—Could *you*, much respected [Mr. Norris,] go but a little farther, and disapprove the application itself; could you, but say the proprietary government is a good one, and ought to be continued; then might all your political offences be done away, and your scarlet sins become as snow and wool; then might you end your course with (proprietary) honour. P— should preach your funeral sermon; and S—, the poisoner of other characters, embalm your memory. But those honours you will never receive; for with returning health and strength, you will be found in your old post, firm for your country.

There

There is encouragement too for *young sinners*. Mr. Dickenson, whose speech our prefacer has introduced to the world, (though long hated by some, and disregarded by the rest of the proprietary faction,) is at once, for the same reason as in Mr. Norris's case; become a sage in the law; and an oracle in matters relating to our constitution.—I shall not endeavour to pluck so much as a leaf from these the young gentleman's laurels. I would only advise him carefully to preserve the panegyrics with which they have adorned him: In time they may serve to console him, by balancing the calumny they shall load him with, when he does not go through with them in all their measures: He will not probably do the one, and they will then assuredly do the other.—There are mouths that can blow hot as well as cold, and blast on your brows the baystheir hands have placed there. “*Experto crede Roberto.*” Let but the moon of *proprietary* favour withdraw its shine for a moment; and that “great number of the *principal Gentlemen* of Philadelphia,” who applied to you for the copy of your speech; shall immediately despise and desert you.—

“Those principal Gentlemen!” What a pity it is that their names were not given us in the preface, together with their admirable letter! We should then have known where to run for advice on all occasions. We should have known who to choose for our future representatives: For undoubtedly these were they, that are elsewhere called “the wiser and BETTER part of the province.”—

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None

None but Wifdoms could have known beforehand that a speech which they never heard, and a copy of which they had never seen, but were then requesting to see; was "a spirited defence," and 'of our charter privileges;' and that 'the publication of it would be of great utility, and give general satisfaction.'—No inferior sagacity could discover, that the appointment of a governor by the proprietor, was one of our "charter privileges;" and that those who opposed the application for a royal government, were therefore patriot members appearing on the side of our privileges and our charter!

Utterly to confound *the assembly*, and shew the excellence of proprietary government; the proposer has extracted from their own votes, the *praises* they have from time to time bestowed on the *first* proprietor, in their addresses to his sons. And though addresses are not generally the best repositories of historical truth, we must not in this instance deny their authority.

What then avails it to the honour of the present proprietors, that our founder and their father, gave us privileges; if they, the sons, will not permit the use of them, or forcibly rend them from us?—David may have been a man after God's own heart, and Solomon the wisest of proprietors and governors; but if Rehoboam will be a tyrant and a ———, who can secure him the affections of the people!—The virtue and merit of his ancestors may be very great; but his presumption

[P.P.] *Of a petition against a royal Government.* 453
sumption in depending upon those alone may be much greater.—

I lamented, a few pages ago, that we were not acquainted with the names of those “principal ‘Gentlemen the wiser and better part of the province.” I now rejoice that we are likely some time or other to know them;—for a copy of a PETITION TO THE KING is now before me; which from its similarity with their *letter*, must be of their inditing, and will probably be recommended to the people, by their leading up the signing.

On this petition I shall take the liberty of making a few REMARKS, as they will save me the necessity of following farther the preface; the sentiments of this and that being nearly the same.

It begins with a formal quotation from the [assembly's] petition, which they own they have not seen, and of words that are not in it; and after relating very imperfectly and unfairly the fact relating to their application for a copy of it, which is of no importance; proceeds to set forth, ‘That as we and all your American subjects must be governed by persons authorized and approved by your Majesty, on the best recommendation that can be obtained of them; we cannot perceive our condition in this respect to be *different* from our fellow-subjects around us, or that we are thereby less under your Majesty’s particular care and protection than they are; since there can be no *governors* of this province without
your

‘ your Majesty’s immediate approbation and authority.’—Such a declaration from the wiser part of the province is really a little surprising. What! when disputes concerning matters of property are daily arising between you and your proprietaries, cannot your wisdoms perceive the least difference between having the judges of these disputes appointed by a royal governor, who has no interest in the cause; and having them appointed by the proprietaries themselves, the principal parties against you; and *during their pleasure* too? when supplies are necessary to be raised for your defence, can you perceive no difference between having a royal governor, free to promote his Majesty’s service by a ready assent to your laws; and a proprietary governor, shackled by instructions, forbidding him to give that assent; unless some private advantage is obtained, some profit got, or unequal exemption gained for their estate, or some privilege wrested from you? When prerogative, that in other governments is only used for the good of the people; is here strained to the extreme, and used to their prejudice, and the proprietaries benefit; can you perceive no difference? When the direct and immediate rays of majesty benignly and mildly shine on all *around* us, but are transmitted and thrown upon *us*, through the burning-glasses of proprietary government; can your sensibilities feel no difference? Sheltered perhaps in proprietary offices, or benumbed with expectations, it may be you cannot. But surely you might have known better than to tell his Majesty, ‘ that

‘there can be no governors of this province, without his immediate approbation.’ Don’t you know, who know so much, that by our blessed constitution the *proprietors* themselves, whenever they please, may govern us *in person*; without such approbation?

The petition proceeds to tell his Majesty, ‘that the particular mode of government which we enjoy, under your Majesty, is held in the *big best estimation* by good men of all denominations among us; and hath *brought multitudes* of industrious people from various parts of the world.’ &c.—Really! Can this be from proprietary partizans? That constitution which they were for ever censuring, as defective in a legislative council, defective in government powers, too popular in many of its modes; is it now become so excellent?—Perhaps, as they have been tinkering it these twenty years, till they have stripped it of some of its most valuable privileges, and almost spoiled it; they now begin to like it. But then it is not surely this *present* constitution, that brought hither those multitudes. They came before.—At least it was not that particular in our constitution, (the proprietary power of appointing a governor) which attracted them; that single particular, which alone is now in question; which our venerable founder first, and now the assembly, are endeavouring to change.—As to the remaining valuable part of our constitution, the assembly have been equally full and strong in expressing their regard for it, and perhaps stronger and fuller; for

for *their* petition in that respect, is in the nature of a petition of right; it lays claim, though modestly and humbly, to those privileges on the foundation of royal grants, on laws confirmed by the crown, and on justice and equity; as the grants were the consideration offered to induce them to settle; and which they have in a manner purchased and paid for, by executing that settlement without putting the crown to any expence.—Whoever would know what our constitution was, when it was so much admired, let him peruse that elegant farewell speech of Mr. Hamilton, father of our late governor; when, as speaker, he took his leave of the house, and of public business, in 1739; and then let him compare that constitution with the present. The power of *appointing public officers* by the representatives of the people, which he so much extols; where is it now? Even the bare naming to the governor in a bill, a trivial officer to receive a light-house duty, (which could be considered as no more than a mere recommendation) is, in a late message, styled, ‘an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown!’ The sole power of *raising and disposing of public money*, which he says was then lodged in the assembly; that inestimable privilege, what is become of it? Inch by inch they have been wrested from us in times of public distress; And the rest are going the same way.—I remember to have seen when Governor Hamilton was engaged in a dispute with the assembly on some of those points, a copy of that speech, which then was intended to be re-printed;

printed; with a dedication to that honourable Gentleman; and this motto from John Rogers's verses in the Primer:

We send you here a little book,

As bid to For you to look upon;

That you may see your father's face,

Now he is dead and gone.

Many a such little book has been sent by our assemblies to the present proprietaries:—But they do not like to see their father's face; it puts their own out of countenance.

The petition proceeds to say, 'That such *disagreements* as have arisen in this province, we have beheld with sorrow; but as *others* around us are not exempted from the *like misfortunes*, we can by no means conceive them incident to the nature of our government, which hath *often* been administered with remarkable harmony: And your Majesty, before whom our late disputes have been laid, can be at no loss, in your great wisdom to discover whether they proceed from the above cause, or should be ascribed to some others.'—The disagreements in question, are proprietary disagreements in government, relating to proprietary private interests. And are not the *royal* governments around us exempt from *these* misfortunes? Can you really, Gentlemen, by no means conceive, that proprietary government disagreements are incident to the nature of proprietary governments? Can they in nature be incident to any other governments? If your wisdoms are so hard to conceive, I am afraid

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they will never bring forth.—But then our government “hath *often* been administered with remarkable harmony.” Very true; as often as the assembly have been able and willing to purchase that harmony, and pay for it; the mode of which has already been shewn. And yet that word *often* seems a little unluckily chosen: The flame that is often put out, must be as often lit. If our government hath often been administered with remarkable harmony, it hath as often been administered with remarkable discord: One often is as numerous as the other.—And his Majesty, if he should take the trouble of looking over our disputes (to which the petitioners, to save themselves a little pains, modestly and decently refer him) where will he, for twenty years past, find any but *proprietary* disputes concerning proprietary interests; or disputes that have been connected with and arose from them?

The petition proceeds to assure his Majesty, • That this province (except from the Indian ravages) enjoys the *most perfect internal tranquillity!*—Amazing! What! the most perfect tranquillity! when there have been three atrocious riots within a few months! When in two of them, horrid murders were committed on twenty innocent persons; and in the third, no less than one hundred and forty like murders were meditated, and declared to be intended, with as many more as should be occasioned by any opposition! When we know that these rioters and murderers have none of them been punished, have never been pro-

persecuted, have not ever been apprehended ! when we are frequently told, that they intend still to execute their purposes as soon as the protection of the king's forces is withdrawn !—Is our tranquillity more perfect now, than it was between the first riot and the second, or between the second and the third ?—And why 'except the *Indian* ravages ;' if a *little intermission* is to be denominated 'the most perfect tranquillity ?' For the Indians too have been quiet lately. Almost as well might ships in an engagement talk of the most perfect tranquillity between two broadsides.—But 'a spirit of riot and violence is foreign to the general temper of the inhabitants.' I hope and believe it is ; the assembly have said nothing to the contrary.—And yet is there not too much of it ? Are there not pamphlets continually written, and daily sold in our streets, to justify and encourage it ? are not the mad armed mob in those writings instigated to embroil their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens ; by first applauding their murder of the Indians ; and then representing the assembly and their friends as worse than Indians, as having privately stirred up the Indians to murder the white people, and armed and rewarded them for that purpose ? LIES, Gentlemen, villanous as ever the malice of hell invented ; and which, to do you justice, not one of you believes, though you would have the mob believe them.

But your petition proceeds to say, 'That where such disturbances have happened, they have

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'been *Speedily quieted*.'—By whom were they quieted? the *two first*, if they can be said to be quieted, were quieted only by the rioters themselves going home quietly (that is, without any interruption;) and remaining there till their next insurrection; without any pursuit, or attempt to apprehend any of them. And the *third*, was it quieted, or was the mischief they intended prevented, or could it have been prevented; without the aid of the king's troops, marched into the province for that purpose?—"The civil powers have been supported," in some sort. We all know how they were supported; but have they been *fully* supported? Has the government sufficient strength, even with all its supports, to venture on the apprehending and punishment of those notorious offenders? If it has not, why are you angry at those who would strengthen its hands by a more immediate royal authority? if it has, why is not the thing done? Why will the government, by its conduct, strengthen the suspicions (groundless no doubt) that it has come to a private understanding with those murderers, and that impunity for their past crimes is to be the reward of their future political services?—O! but says the petition, "There are perhaps cases in all governments where it may *not be possible Speedily to discover offenders*." Probably; but is there any case in any government where it is not possible to *endeavour* such a discovery? There may be cases where it is not safe to do it: And perhaps the best thing our government

vernment can say for itself is, that that is our case. —The only objection to such an apology must be, that it would justify that part of the assembly's petition to the crown which relates to the *weakness* of our present government*.

Still, if there is any *fault*, it must be *in the assembly*; For, says the petition, 'if the executive part of our government should seem in any case too weak, we conceive it is the duty of the assembly, and in *their* power to strengthen it.' —This weakness, however, you have just denied. Disturbances you say *have* been speedily quieted, and the civil power supported; And thereby you have deprived your insinuated charge against the assembly of its only support. —But is it not a fact known to you all, that the assembly *did* endeavour to strengthen the hands of the government? That at his honour's instance they prepared and passed in a few hours a bill for extending hither the act of parliament for dispersing rioters? That they also passed and presented to him a militia bill†; which he refused, unless powers were thereby given him over the lives and properties of the inhabitants, which the public good did not require; and which their duty to

* The assembly being called upon by the governor for their advice on that occasion, did, in a message, advise his sending for and examining the magistrates of Lancaster county and borough, where the murders were committed, in order to discover the actors; but neither that, nor any of the other measures recommended, were ever taken. —Proclamations indeed were published, but soon discontinued.

† [Is not this the militia bill canvassed above p. 396? E.]
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their constituents would not permit them to trust in the hands of any proprietary governor?—You know the points, Gentlemen: They have been made public. Would you have had your representatives give up those points? Do *you* intend to give them up, when at the next election *you* are made assemblymen? If so, tell it us honestly beforehand; that we may know what we are to expect when we are about to choose you?

I come now to the last clause of your petition, where, with the same wonderful sagacity with which you in another case discovered the excellency of a speech you never heard, you undertake to *characterise a petition [from the Assembly] you own you never saw*;—and venture to assure his Majesty, that it is ‘exceeding grievous in its nature; that it by no means contains a proper representation of the state of this province; and is repugnant to the general sense of his numerous and loyal subjects in it.’ Are then his Majesty’s ‘numerous and loyal subjects’ in this province all as great wizards as yourselves; and capable of knowing, without seeing it, that a petition is repugnant to their general sense?—But the inconsistency of your petition, Gentlemen, is not so much to be wondered at;—The *prayer* of it is *still more* extraordinary, ‘We therefore most humbly pray, that your Majesty would be graciously pleased *wholly to disregard* the said petition of the assembly.’ What! without enquiry! without examination! without a hearing of what the assembly might say in support of it! ‘wholly “disregard”

"disregard" the petition of your representatives in assembly; accompanied by other petitions signed by thousands of your fellow-subjects, as loyal, if not as wise and as good as yourselves! Would you wish to see your great and amiable prince act a part that could not become a Dey of Algiers? Do you, who are Americans, pray for a *precedent* of such contempt in the treatment of an American assembly! Such "total disregard" of their humble applications to the throne?—Surely your wisdoms here have overshot yourselves.—But as wisdom shews itself not only in doing what is right, but in confessing and *amending* what is wrong, I recommend the latter particularly to your present attention; being persuaded of this consequence; that though you have been mad enough to sign such a petition, you never will be fools enough to present it.

There is one thing mentioned in the preface, which I find omitted to take notice of as I came along, [viz.] *the refusal of the house to enter Mr. Dickinson's protest* on their minutes: This is mentioned in such a manner there and in the newspapers, as to insinuate a charge of some partiality and injustice in the assembly.—But the *reasons* were merely these; that though protesting may be a practice with the Lords of parliament, there is no instance of it in the house of commons, whose proceedings are the model followed by the assemblies of America; That there is no precedent of it on our votes, from the beginning of our pre-

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sent constitution ; And that the introducing such a practice would be attended with inconveniences, as the representatives in assembly are not, like the Lords in parliament, unaccountable to any constituents ; and would therefore find it necessary for their own justification, if the reasons of the minority for being against a measure were admitted in the votes, to put there likewise the reasons that induced the majority to be for it : Whereby the votes, which were intended only as a register of propositions and determinations, would be filled with the disputes of members with members ; and the public business be thereby greatly retarded, if ever brought to a period.

As that Protest was a mere abstract of Mr. DICKINSON's speech, every particular of it will be found answered in the following speech of *Mr. Galloway* ; from which it is fit that I should no longer detain the reader*.

* [Mr. Galloway's speech is of course here omitted.—In the Pennsylvania edition of the Preface, an epitaph followed here. E.]

V.

P A P E R S

O N

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

N.B. *All the Papers under this division are distinguished by the letters [M. P.] placed in the running title at the head of each leaf.*

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[*A Scheme for a new Alphabet and reformed mode of Spelling; with Remarks and Examples concerning the same; and an Enquiry into its Uses, in a Correspondence between Miss S—n and Dr. Franklin, written in the Characters of the Alphabet*.*]

* [I think it proper to mention that Miss S—n, is the lady that appears so conspicuously in the edition of Dr. Franklin's philosophical papers; and that if I am not mistaken, the name of a *Sir Thomas Smith* is referred to, in one of the copies which I have seen of this paper.

For the nature and intention of this alphabet, &c. I must refer to what Dr. Franklin has himself said upon the subject, in answer to Miss S—n's objections; as the reader may understand the whole in an hour or two.—It is necessary to add, that the new letters used in the course of printing this paper, are exactly copied from the *manuscripts* in my possession; there being no provision for a distinction in the character as *written* or *printed*. I have no other way therefore of marking the scored parts of the manuscript (answering to *italics*,) than by placing such passages between inverted commas.—As to *capitals*, I should have provided for them by means of larger types, but the form of some of them would have made them too large for the page: however, were the author's general system ever adopted, nothing would be easier than to remedy this particular.

I hope I shall be forgiven for observing, that even our *present printed* and written characters are fundamentally the same. The [Roman] *printed* one is certainly the neatest, simplest, and most legible of the two; but for the sake of ease and rapidity in our *writing*, it seems we there insert a number of joining or terminating strokes, substitute curves for angles, and give the letters a small inclination, to which rules even the letters *a*, *g*, *r* and *w*, are easily reconcilable.—This will cease to appear a remark of mere curiosity, if applied to the decyphering of foreign correspondence. But for this purpose I would add, that the *French* in particular, seem to treat the small up-stroke in the letters *b*, *p*, &c. as proceeding originally in an angle from the *bottom* of the down-stroke: they therefore begin it with a curve from the bottom, and keep it all the way distinct; hence forming their written *r* much like our written *v*. This last letter *v*, they again distinguish by a loop at the bottom; which loop they often place where we place an outward curve. The remarkable terminating *s* which they sometimes use, seems intended for our printed *s* begun from the bottom, but from corrupt writing inverted and put horizontally, instead of vertically. It is rather from bad writing than system, that their *n* and *w* appear like *s* and *vo*.—I could go on to speak of the formation of written and printed *capitals*, but as this would be a work of mere curiosity, I leave it for the reader's amusement. E.]

REMARKS [on the Alphabetical Table].

o	{	It is endeavoured to give the Alphabet a <i>more natural Order</i> ; Beginning first with the simple Sounds formed by the Breath, with none or very little help of Tongue, Teeth, and Lips; and produced chiefly in the Windpipe.
to		
huh		
g k		
r #	{	Then coming forward to those, formed by the Roof of the Tongue next to the Windpipe.
t d		
l	{	Then to those, formed more forward, by the forefront of the Tongue against the Roof of the Mouth.
s z		
th	{	Then those, formed still more forward in the Mouth, by the Tip of the Tongue applied first to the Roots of the upper Teeth.
dh		
f v	{	Then to those, formed by the Tip of the Tongue applied to the Ends or Edges of the upper Teeth.
b	{	Then to those, formed still more forward by the under Lip applied to the upper Teeth.
p		
m	{	Then to those, formed yet more forward by the upper and under Lip opening to let out the sounding Breath.
	{	And lastly, ending with the shutting up of the Mouth, or closing the Lips while any Vowel is sounding.

In this Alphabet *c* is omitted as unnecessary; *k* supplying its hard Sound, and *s* the soft.—The jod *j* is also omitted, its Sound being supplied by the new Letter *ſi*, *yſ*, which serves other purposes, assisting in the formation of other sounds;—thus the *ſi* with a *d* before it, gives the sound of the jod *j* and soft *g*, as in “James, January, “giant, gentle,” “*dſeems, dſianueri, dſyant*, “*dſientel* ;” with a *t* before it, it gives the Sound of *ch*, as in “Cherry, Chip,” “*tſieri, tſip* ;” and with an *z* before it the French sound of the jod *j*, as in “jamaica,” “*zſiame*.”

Thus the *g* has no longer two different Sounds, which occasioned Confusion; but is, as every Letter ought to be, confined to one;—The same is to be observed in *all* the Letters, Vowels, and Consonants, that wherever they are met with, or in whatever Company, their Sound is always the same.—It is also intended that there be *no superfluous* Letters used in spelling; i. e. no Letter that is not sounded;—And this Alphabet, by six new Letters, provides that there be no distinct Sounds in the Language *without Letters* to express them. As to the difference between *short and long Vowels*, it is naturally expressed by a single Vowel where short, a double one where long; as for “mend” write “mend,” but for “remain’d” write “remeen’d;”

“remeend;” for “did” write “did,” but for “deed” write “diid,” † &c.

What in our common Alphabet is supposed the third Vowel, *i*, as we found it, is as a *Diptbong*; consisting of two of our Vowels joined; [viz.] *y* as founded in “into,” and *i* in its true Sound: Any one will be sensible of this, who sounds those two Vowels *y i* quick after each other; the Sound begins *y* and ends *ii*. The true Sound of the *i* is that we now give to *e* in the words “deed, “keep,”—*.

† [Though a single vowel appears to be put in the Table for *did* and *deed* equally, yet in the Remarks [ABOVE] the latter is made to require two *i*s. Perhaps the same doubling of the vowel is meant for *name* and *lane*; for certainly *name* is not pronounced as *mem*, in the expression *mem. con.* corresponding to the found in *mem*.—Some critics may probably think that these two sets of sounds are so distinct as to require different characters to express them: since in *mem*, pronounced affectedly for *ma'am (madam)* and corresponding in found to *men*, the lips are kept close to the teeth, and perpendicular to each other; but in *main*, corresponding in found to *name*, the lips are placed poutingly and flat towards each other: A remark that might be applied with little variation to *did* and *deed* compared.—As this is a subject I have never much examined, it becomes me only to add, that spelling may be considered as “an analysis of the operations of “ the organs of speech, where each separate letter has to represent a “ different movement;” and that among these organs of speech, we are to enumerate the epiglottis; and perhaps even the lungs themselves, not merely as furnishing air for found, but as modifying the found of that air both in *inhaling* and expelling it. E.]

* [The copy from which this is printed, ends in the same abrupt way with the above, followed by a considerable blank space; so that more perhaps was intended to be added by our author. E.]

TABLE

[TABLE of the REFORMED ALPHABET]

Characters.

o

* a

a

e

i

u

* y

b

Old.

John, Folly; Awl, Ball.

Man, can.

Men, lend, Name, Lane.

Did, Sin, Deed, seen.

Tool, Fool, Rule.

um, un; as in umbrage, unto, &c. and as in *er*.
hunter, happy, high.

give, gather.

keep, kick.

(sh) Ship, wish.

(ng) ing, repeating, among.

end.

Art.

Teeth.

Deed.

ell, tell.

Effence.

(ez) Wages.

(th) think.

(dh) thy.

Effect.

ever.

Bees.

peep.

ember.

g

k

* f

* t

n

r

t

d

l

s

z

* h

* v

f

v

b

p

m

Names of Letters as expressed in the reformed Sounds and Characters.

o

a

a

e

i

u

y

bub

gi

ki

ib

ing

en

r

ti

di

el

es

ez

eh

eh

ef

ev

b

pi

em

* [N. B. The six new letters are marked with an asterisk * to distinguish them, and show how they are pronounced.]

[Manner of pronouncing the Sounds.]

Characters.
and
formed Sounds
in the re-
spective
characters.

o The first VOWEL naturally, and deepest sound; requires only to open the mouth, and breathe through it.

ɔ The next requiring the mouth opened a little, or hollower.

a The next, a little more.

e The next requires the *Tongue* to be a little more elevated.

i The next still more.

u The next requires the *Lips* to be gathered up, leaving a small opening.

y The next a very short Vowel, the Sound of which we should express in our present Letters thus, *ɥ*; a short, and not very strong *Aspiration*.

bub A stronger or more forcible aspiration.

gi The first CONSONANT; being formed by the *Root of the Tongue*, this is the present hard *g*.

ki A kindred sound; a little more acute; to be used instead of the hard *c*.

ɪʃ A new letter, wanted in our language; our *ʃ*, separately taken, not being proper elements of the sound.

ing A new letter, wanted for the same reason;--- These are formed *back in the mouth*.

en Formed *more forward* in the mouth; the *Tip of the Tongue* to the *Roof* of the mouth.

r The same; the tip of the tongue a little looser or separate from the roof of the mouth, and vibrating.

ti The tip of the tongue more forward; touching, and then leaving, the roof.

di The same; touching a little fuller.

el The same; touching just about the *gums of the upper teeth*.

es This sound is formed, by the breath passing *between* the moist end of the *tongue* and the *upper teeth*.

ex The same; a little denser and duller.

eh The tongue under, and a little *behind*, the upper teeth; touching them, but so as to let the breath pass between.

eh The same; a little fuller.

ef Formed by the *lower lip* against the upper teeth.

ev The same; fuller and duller.

b The *lips* *full together*, and *opened* as the air passes out.

pi The same; but a thinner sound.

em The *closing* of the lips, while the *e* [here annexed] is sounding.

in them, and show how few new sounds are proposed, &c.]

THE ALPINE



LETTERS OF THE BISHOP OF AFRICA VI

Examples [of writing in this Character.]

So buen sym Endfiel, byi diwyin kmand,
 Uih ryiziin tempests heeks e gilty Land;
 (Syth aæ cæ leet or peel Britania past,)
 Kalm and sriin bi dryios bi feuriys blast;
 And, plix'd þ' calmytis cirdyrs tu
 purfarm,
 Ryids in bi Huyrluind and dyirekts bi
 Starm.

So þi piur limpid sriim, buen faul uih steens
 cæ rythiñ Tarents and disendiñ Reens,
 Uyrks itself kliir; and aæ it ryus risyins;
 Til byi digriis, þe slotiñ miryr syins,
 Rislekts iiiiñ flaur þat an its bardyr grox,
 And e nu beo'n in its feer Byxym flox.

Kensytyn,

Kensington, September 26, 1768.

Dear Sir,

yi baw tranſkryb'd iur alfabet, &c.
 buiſt yi þink myit bi cwo ſyrvys tu þox, bu
 wiſt ta akuyir an akiuret pronynſieſum, if
 þat kuld bi fix'd; byt yi fi meni inkcan-
 viinienſis, az uel az diſkyltis, þat uuld
 atend yi bringir iur letyrs and arhagrafi
 intu kamyn ius. cical cur etimolodfiex
 uuld be laſt, kanſkuentli ui kuld nat
 aſyrteen þi miiniy cwo meni wyrds; þi
 diſſinkſum, tu, bituin wyrds cwo diſyrent
 miiniy and ſmilar ſeound uuld bi uſſes,
 ynles ui lwiig ryiters publiſt nu iidiſum.
 In ſiart yi biliv ui myſt let piipil ſpel an
 in þeer old ue, and (az ui ſyind it iſieſt)
 du þi ſeem cur ſelves.—With eaſe and with
 ſincerity I can, in the old way, ſubſcribe
 „ myſelf, Dear Sir,

Your faithful and affectionate Servant,

Dr. Franklin.

M. S.

er lastiſſy. — To yſſyſſy iu car mi, bu ſpel uel in
 yi preſent mod, yi imadſſin yi diſkylti cwo
 ſſendſſyſſy ſhat mod ſcar yi nu, ix nat ſo grét,
 byt ſhat ui myit pyrfektlly git ovyr it in a
 wiiks ryitiſſy. — Az to hoz bu du nat ſpel uel,
 iſſ yi tu diſkyltiſſy er kypéſſd, [viz.] ſhat cwo
 tiſſſyſſy hem tru ſpeliſſy in yi preſent mod,
 and ſhat cwo tiſſſyſſy hem yi nu alfabet and yi
 nu ſpeliſſy akarding to it; yi am kanſident
 ſhat yi latyr uuld bi byi ſar yi liiſſ. Vê
 natyrali ſcal into yi nu meſſyſſy atredi, dz
 myſſi az yi imperfekſſyſſy cwo her alfabet
 wil admit cwo; her preſent bad ſpeliſſy ix
 orli bad, bikaz kanſſſſy to yi preſent bad
 ruls: yndyr yi nu ruls it uuld bi gud.

— yi diſkyltiſſy cwo tyſſſyſſy to ſpel uel in
 yi old ué ix ſo grét, ſhat ſſu atén it;
 hcauzands and hcauzands ryitiſſy an ſo old
 edſſi, æthent ever biſſy ebil ſo akayſſ
 in. Tis, biſſyſſy, e diſkyltiſſy kanſſſſyſſy
 inkriſſſy; az yi ſcaund graduati verix
 mor and mor ſſcam yi ſpeliſſy: and ſo

ſcarenſſyſſy

farenyrs þæt niētra þi lyrnij to prōncunz
 aur languedz, æs riten in aur buks, almost
 impoſſibil, *anþyſt to be a two hyphen*

Nau æs to "þi inkorninienſe" in men-
 ſyn.—þi fyrſt is; þat "a al aur etimol-
 oðfize uuld bi lœſt, kanſkuentli ui kuld
 " nat aſyrteen þi miiniſ cwo meni wyrds."

—etimolodſize er at preſent veri ynſyrten;
 byt fyrſt æs þe er, þi old buks uuld ſtil
 prixyrw þem, and etimolodſiſts uuld þer
 ſyind þem. Wyrds in þi kors cwo tyim,
 thendſ þer miiniſ, æs uel æs þer ſpeliſ
 and pronynſefiſyn; and ui du nat luk to
 etimolodſi ſcar þer preſent miiniſ. If
 yi ſiuld kcal e man e Neev and e Vilen,

^t [Dr. Franklin uſed to lay ſome little ſtreſs on this circumſtance, when he occaſionally ſpoke on the ſubjeſt: "A diſtionary formed on this model would have been ſerviceable to him, he ſaid, even as an *American*;" becauſe from the want of public examples of pronunciation in his own country, it was often difficult to learn the proper ſound of certain words, which occurred very frequently in our Engliſh writings, and which of courſe every American very well underſtood as to their meaning.]

I think I have ſeen a French grammar, which endeavoured to reſent the French pronunciation, by a reſolution of it into Engliſh letters; but for want of proper characters, it ſeemed an embarrassed buſineſs.—Is not the bad ſpelling obſerved in French manuſcripts, owing in ſome degre to the great variance between their orthography and pronunciation? [E.]

bi wuld bardli bi satisfyd wiþ myi teliþ
him, þat wyn æw þi wyrdz oriðinali
signifyd onli e lad ar syrvant; and þi
yþyr, an yndyr plawman, ær þi inhabitant
æw e viledfi. It iz fram present iusedfi
onli, þi miiniþ æw wyrdz iz to bi diyr-
mined.

Iur sekynð inkarviniens iz, þat “þi dif-
“ tinkryn biuuii wyrdz æw difyrent miiniþ
“ and similar ſaund wuld bi difſcrayd.” —
þat diftinkryn iz alredi difſcrayd in pro-
nauunþy þem; and ui riþy an þi ſens alon
æw þi ſentens to aſyrteen, buiþ æw þi ſeueral
wyrdz, ſimilar in ſaund, ui intend. If þis
iz ſyſſient in þi rapiditi æw difkors, it wil
bi muþfi mor ſo in riten ſentenses; buiþ
mē bi red leſſfurt; and atended to mor
partikularli in kes æw difkytli, þan ui kan
atend to e poſt ſentens, buþil e ſpiky iz
byryþy ys alcy wiþ nu wyrs.

Iur hyrd inkarviniens iz, þat “cæl þi
“ buks alredi riten wuld bi iuſſes.” — þis in-

karviniens

incunians uuld onli kym an graduall, in
 e kore cro edfies. Iu and yi, and yhyr
 wau leyn ridyrs, uuld bardli farget hi
 ius cro hem. Piipil uuld long turn to riid
 hi old ryitig, ho he praktiſt hi nu.—And
 hi inkunians is nat greter, han buat
 bes aktuali bopend in a ſimilar keſ, in Iteli.
 Farmerli its inhabitants cal ſpok and rot
 Latin: az hi languedh iſtendhed, hi ſpeliſ
 ſalod it. It iz tru hat at preſent, e miir
 ynlarnd Italian kancut riid hi Latin buks;
 ho he er ſtil red and yndyrſtud byi meni.
 But, if hi ſpeliſ bad neoyr bin iſtendhed,
 bi uuld acue beo ſcaund it myſt mor diſt-
 kilt to riid and ryit biſ on languadh i;
 ſar riten uyrds uuld beo bad no riléſyn to
 ſcaunds, he uuld onli beo ſtud ſar hys;
 ſo hat if bi uuld ekſpres in ryitig hi yidia
 bi beo, buen bi ſcaunds hi uyrd Veſcovo,
 bi myſt iux hi leterz Episcopuſ.—In ſcart,

† [That is, ſuppoſing it ſtill to have kept up to its old form of
Latin ſpelling, and not to have changed to the preſent form of
Belian ſpelling, E.]

buatover

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beatever *þi* difskyltix and inkæmwinienfæ
næu er, þe uil bi mor iixili fyrmcæunied
næu, þan biræftyr; and ſym ryim ær
yþyr, it myſt bi dyn; ær æur ryitig uil
bikym *þi* ſêm uith *þi* Iþymniæ †, æs to *þi*
difskylti ær lymniæ and iuxig it. And it
uuld alredi beo bin ſyfi, if u bad kæn-
tinud *þi* Saksyn ſpeliæ and ryitiæ, iuxed
byi our forfæhers.

yi am, myi diir frind,

iurs æfektyneti,

B. Franklin *.

Lyndyn,

Kreæu-ſtrüt,

Sept. 28, 1768.

† Chineſe.

* [Perhaps it would have been better to have had the new letters caſt upright, in order to have ſuited with Roman inſtead of Italic characters: But it did not occur till too late. — If any falſe ſpelling has appeared in the above, it is as fair to attribute it to the editor as to the author. E.]

On the *Vis Inertiæ* of Matter.*In a Letter to Mr. Baxter.*

ACCORDING to my promise, I send you *in writing* my observations on your book*: You will be the better able to consider them; which I desire you to do at your leisure, and to set me right where I am wrong.

I stumble at the threshold of the building, and therefore have not read farther. The author's *Vis Inertiæ essential to Matter*, upon which the whole work is founded, I have not been able to comprehend. And I do not think he demonstrates at all

* [It was a book, intitled *An Inquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul, wherein its Immateriality is evinced, &c.*—One of the chief objects of this book was to prove that a resistance to any change is essential to matter, consequently inconsistent with active powers in it; and that if matter wants active powers, an immaterial being is necessary for all those effects, &c. ascribed to its own natural powers. —After stating the several proofs questioned by Dr. Franklin, of a *Vis inertiae*, or “force of inertness” in matter, the author adds; “If the immateriality of the soul, the existence of God, and the necessity of a most particular incessant providence in the world, are demonstrable from such plain and easy principles; the atheist has a desperate cause in hand.” (See the 3d edit. p. 1–8.) —In fact, Mr. Baxter’s doctrine seems to establish, rather than disprove, an activity in matter; and consequently to defeat his own conclusion, were not that conclusion to be found from other premises. —*Prima facie* it seems better for Mr. Baxter’s system, to suppose matter *incapable of force or effort*, even in the case, as he calls it, of resisting change; which case appears to me no other than the simple one, of matter *not* altering its state *without* a cause, and a cause exactly proportioned to the effect. [E.]

clearly

clearly (at least to me he does not) that there is really *such a property in matter*.

He says, No. 2. 'Let a given body or mass of matter be called a , and let any given celerity be called c . That *celerity* doubled, tripled, &c. or halved, thirded, &c. will be $2c$, $3c$, &c. or $\frac{1}{2}c$, $\frac{1}{3}c$, &c. respectively: Also the *body* doubled, tripled, or halved, thirded, will be $2a$, $3a$, or $\frac{1}{2}a$, $\frac{1}{3}a$, respectively. Thus far is clear.—But he adds, 'Now to move the body a with the celerity c , requires a certain force to be impressed upon it; and to move it with a celerity as $2c$, requires *twice that force* to be impressed upon it, &c.' Here I suspect some mistake creeps in by the author's not distinguishing between a great force applied at once, or a small one continually applied, to a mass of matter, in order to move it†. I think it is generally allowed by the philosophers, and for aught we know, is certainly true, that there is no mass of matter, how great soever, but may be moved by any force how small soever* (taking friction out of the question;) and this small force continued, will in time bring the mass to move with any velocity whatsoever.—Our author himself seems to allow this towards the end of the same No. 2. when he is subdividing his celerities and forces: for as in continuing the division to eternity by his method of

† [It would not have been inconsistent in Mr. Baxter, to admit an augmentation of force from successive applications of it; in which case a small force often repeated, is no longer a 'small force', but becomes a *large sum* of forces. E.]

* [See the following note. E.]

$\frac{1}{2}c, \frac{1}{4}c, \frac{1}{8}c, \frac{1}{16}c, \frac{1}{32}c, \frac{1}{64}c, \frac{1}{128}c, \frac{1}{256}c, \frac{1}{512}c, \frac{1}{1024}c, \frac{1}{2048}c, \frac{1}{4096}c, \frac{1}{8192}c, \frac{1}{16384}c, \frac{1}{32768}c, \frac{1}{65536}c, \frac{1}{131072}c, \frac{1}{262144}c, \frac{1}{524288}c, \frac{1}{1048576}c, \frac{1}{2097152}c, \frac{1}{4194304}c, \frac{1}{8388608}c, \frac{1}{16777216}c, \frac{1}{33554432}c, \frac{1}{67108864}c, \frac{1}{134217728}c, \frac{1}{268435456}c, \frac{1}{536870912}c, \frac{1}{1073741824}c, \frac{1}{2147483648}c, \frac{1}{4294967296}c, \frac{1}{8589934592}c, \frac{1}{17179869184}c, \frac{1}{34359738368}c, \frac{1}{68719476736}c, \frac{1}{137438953472}c, \frac{1}{274877906944}c, \frac{1}{549755813888}c, \frac{1}{1099511627776}c, \frac{1}{2199023255552}c, \frac{1}{4398046511104}c, \frac{1}{8796093022208}c, \frac{1}{17592186044416}c, \frac{1}{35184372088832}c, \frac{1}{70368744177664}c, \frac{1}{140737488355328}c, \frac{1}{281474976710656}c, \frac{1}{562949953421312}c, \frac{1}{1125899906842624}c, \frac{1}{2251799813685248}c, \frac{1}{4503599627370496}c, \frac{1}{9007199254740992}c, \frac{1}{18014398509481984}c, \frac{1}{36028797018963968}c, \frac{1}{72057594037927936}c, \frac{1}{144115188075855872}c, \frac{1}{288230376151711744}c, \frac{1}{576460752303423488}c, \frac{1}{1152921504606846976}c, \frac{1}{2305843009213693952}c, \frac{1}{4611686018427387904}c, \frac{1}{9223372036854775808}c, \frac{1}{18446744073709551616}c, \frac{1}{36893488147419103232}c, \frac{1}{73786976294838206464}c, \frac{1}{147573952589676412928}c, \frac{1}{295147905179352825856}c, \frac{1}{590295810358705651712}c, \frac{1}{1180591620717411303424}c, \frac{1}{2361183241434822606848}c, \frac{1}{4722366482869645213696}c, \frac{1}{9444732965739290427392}c, \frac{1}{18889465931478580854784}c, \frac{1}{37778931862957161709568}c, \frac{1}{75557863725914323419136}c, \frac{1}{151115727451828646838272}c, \frac{1}{302231454903657293676544}c, \frac{1}{604462909807314587353088}c, \frac{1}{1208925819614629174706176}c, \frac{1}{2417851639229258349412352}c, \frac{1}{4835703278458516698824704}c, \frac{1}{9671406556917033397649408}c, \frac{1}{19342813113834066795298816}c, \frac{1}{38685626227668133590597632}c, \frac{1}{77371252455336267181195264}c, \frac{1}{154742504910672534362390528}c, \frac{1}{309485009821345068724781056}c, \frac{1}{618970019642690137449562112}c, \frac{1}{1237940039285380274899124224}c, \frac{1}{2475880078570760549798248448}c, \frac{1}{4951760157141521099596496896}c, \frac{1}{9903520314283042199192993792}c, \frac{1}{19807040628566084398385987584}c, \frac{1}{39614081257132168796771975168}c, \frac{1}{79228162514264337593543950336}c, \frac{1}{158456325028528675187087900672}c, \frac{1}{316912650057057350374175801344}c, \frac{1}{633825300114114700748351602688}c, \frac{1}{1267650600228229401496703205376}c, \frac{1}{2535301200456458802993406410752}c, \frac{1}{5070602400912917605986812821504}c, \frac{1}{10141204801825835211973625643008}c, \frac{1}{20282409603651670423947251286016}c, \frac{1}{40564819207303340847894502572032}c, \frac{1}{81129638414606681695789005144064}c, \frac{1}{162259276829213363391578010288128}c, \frac{1}{324518553658426726783156020576256}c, \frac{1}{649037107316853453566312041152512}c, \frac{1}{1298074214633706907132624082305024}c, \frac{1}{2596148429267413814265248164610048}c, \frac{1}{5192296858534827628530496329220096}c, \frac{1}{10384593717069655257060992658440192}c, \frac{1}{20769187434139310514121985316880384}c, \frac{1}{41538374868278621028243970633760768}c, \frac{1}{83076749736557242056487941267521536}c, \frac{1}{166153499473114484112975882535043072}c, \frac{1}{332306998946228968225951765070086144}c, \frac{1}{664613997892457936451903530140172288}c, \frac{1}{1329227995784915872903807060280344576}c, \frac{1}{2658455991569831745807614120560689152}c, \frac{1}{5316911983139663491615228241121378304}c, 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\frac{1}{926336713898529563$

a maxim that the force of bodies in motion is equal to the quantity of matter multiplied by the celerity, (or $f = c \times a$); and as the force received by and subsisting in matter, when it is put in motion, can never exceed the force given; So if f moves a with c , there must needs be required $2f$ to move a with $2c$; for a moving with $2c$ would have a force equal to $2f$, which it could not receive from $1f$; And this, not because there is such a thing as Vis Inertiæ, for the case would be the same if *that had no existence*; but because nothing can give more than it has.—And now again, if a thing *can* give what it has, if $1f$ can to $1a$ give $1c$, which is the same thing as giving it $1f$; (i.e. if force applied to matter at rest, can put it in motion, and give it *equal* force;) where then is Vis Inertiæ? If it existed at all in matter, should we not find the quantity of its resistance subtracted from the force given?

In No. 4. our author goes on and says, “the body a requires a certain force to be impressed on it to be moved with a celerity as c , or such a force is necessary; and therefore it makes a certain resistance, &c.; a body as $2a$ requires *twice* that force to be moved with the *same* celerity, or it makes twice that resistance; and so on.”

—This I think is not true; but that the body $2a$ moved by the force $1f$ (though the eye may judge otherwise of it) does really move with the same celerity as it did when impelled by the same force; for $2a$ is compounded of $1a + 1a$: and if each of the $1a$'s or each part of the compound were made

to move with $1c$ (as they might be by $2f$) then the whole would move with $2c$, and not with $1c$, as our author supposes. But $1f$ applied to $2a$ makes each a move with $\frac{1}{2}c$; and so the whole moves with $1c$; exactly the same as $1a$ was made to do by $1f$ before. What is equal celerity but a measuring the same \ast space by moving bodies in the same time?—Now if $1a$ impelled by $1f$ measures 100 yards in a minute; and in $2a$ impelled by $1f$, each a measures 50 yards in a minute, which added make 100; are not the celerities as the forces equal? and since force and celerity in the same quantity of matter are always in proportion to each other, why should we, when the quantity of matter is doubled, allow the force to continue unpaired, and yet suppose one half of the celerity to be lost \ast ?—I wonder the more at our author's

\ast [Dr. Franklin's reasoning seems only to prove, that where bodies of different masses have equal force, they measure equal space in equal times.' For allowing that $2a$ moves 100 yards in a minute (because it moves two separate 50 yards in that time) yet surely that space is not the same with that of the 100 yards moved by $1a$, in the same time, though it may be equal to it: For the body $2a$ (that is a and a) in the first case, describes a long and single space.—There is a farther consideration which may shew the difference of celerity and force: For when Dr. Franklin says in his second paragraph, that 'there is no mass of matter, how great soever, but may be moved, with any velocity, by any continued force, how small soever;' I ask whether the moving body must not have its force rather in the shape of much celerity, than of much matter, for this purpose; since without much celerity it would not move fast enough to apply its force to give the required velocity; even though its quantity of matter, and consequently of force, were infinite.—Equal celerity therefore in moving bodies, is their measuring equal space, along a continued line, in equal time.' Equal space measured along a number of smaller parallel lines, suits cases of equal motion indeed, but, according to this corrected definition, not of equal celerity. E.]

Q q q z

mistake

mistake in this point, since in the same number I find him observing: "We may easily conceive
 " that a body as 3 *a*, 4 *a*, &c. would make 3 or
 " 4 bodies equal to once *a*, each of which would
 " require once the first force to be moved with
 " the celerity *c*." If then in 3 *a*, each *a* requires
 once the first force *f* to be moved with the celerity
c, would not each move with the force *f* and celerity
c; and consequently the whole be 3 *a* moving
 with 3 *f* and 3 *c*? After so distinct an observation,
 how could he mis of the consequence, and
 imagine that 1 *c* and 3 *c* were the same? Thus as
 our author's abatement of celerity in the case of
 2 *a* moved by 1 *f* is imaginary, so must be his
 additional resistance.—And here again, I am at a
 loss to discover any effect of the Vis Inertiæ.

In No. 6. he tells us "that all this is likewise
 " certain when taken the contrary way, viz. *from*
 " *motion to rest*; for the body *a* moving with 2
 " certain velocity, as *c*, requires a certain degree
 " of force or resistance to stop that motion, &c.
 " &c." that is, in other words, equal force is
 necessary to destroy force. It may be so. But how
 does that discover a Vis Inertiæ? would not the
 effect be the same if *there were no such thing*? A
 force 1 *f* strikes a body 1 *a*, and moves it with the
 celerity 1 *c*, i. e. with the force 1 *f*: It requires,
 even according to our author, only an opposing
 1 *f* to stop it. But ought it not (if there were a
 Vis Inertiæ) to have not only the force 1 *f*, but
 an additional force equal to the force of Vis Inertiæ,

ties, that *obstinate power by which a body endeavours with all its might to continue in its present state, whether of motion or rest* ? I say, ought there not to be an opposing force equal to the sum of these ? The truth however is, that there is no body, how large soever, moving with any velocity, how great soever, but may be stopped by any opposing force, how small soever, continually applied. At least all our modern philosophers agree to tell us so.

Let me turn the thing in what light I please, I cannot discover the Vis Inertia, nor any effect of it. It is allowed by all, that a body *i. e.* moving with a velocity *i. c.* and a force *i. f.* striking another body *r.* at rest, they will afterwards *move on together*, each with $\frac{1}{2}c$ and $\frac{1}{2}f$; which, as I said before, is equal in the whole to *1 c* and *1 f.* If Vis Inertia, as in this case, neither abates the force nor the velocity of bodies, what does it, or how does it discover itself ?

I imagine I may venture to conclude my observations on this piece, almost in the words of the author : That if the doctrines of the immateriality of the soul and the existence of God and of divine providence are demonstrable from no plainer principles, the *deist* [i. e. *theist*] has a desperate cause in hand. I oppose *my theist* to his atheist, because I think they are diametrically opposite ; and *my theist* of kin, as Mr. Whitfield seems to suppose ; where (in his journal) he tell us, “ *M. B. was a deist, I had almost said an atheist* ;” that is, *ebalk*, I had almost said *charcoal*.

The

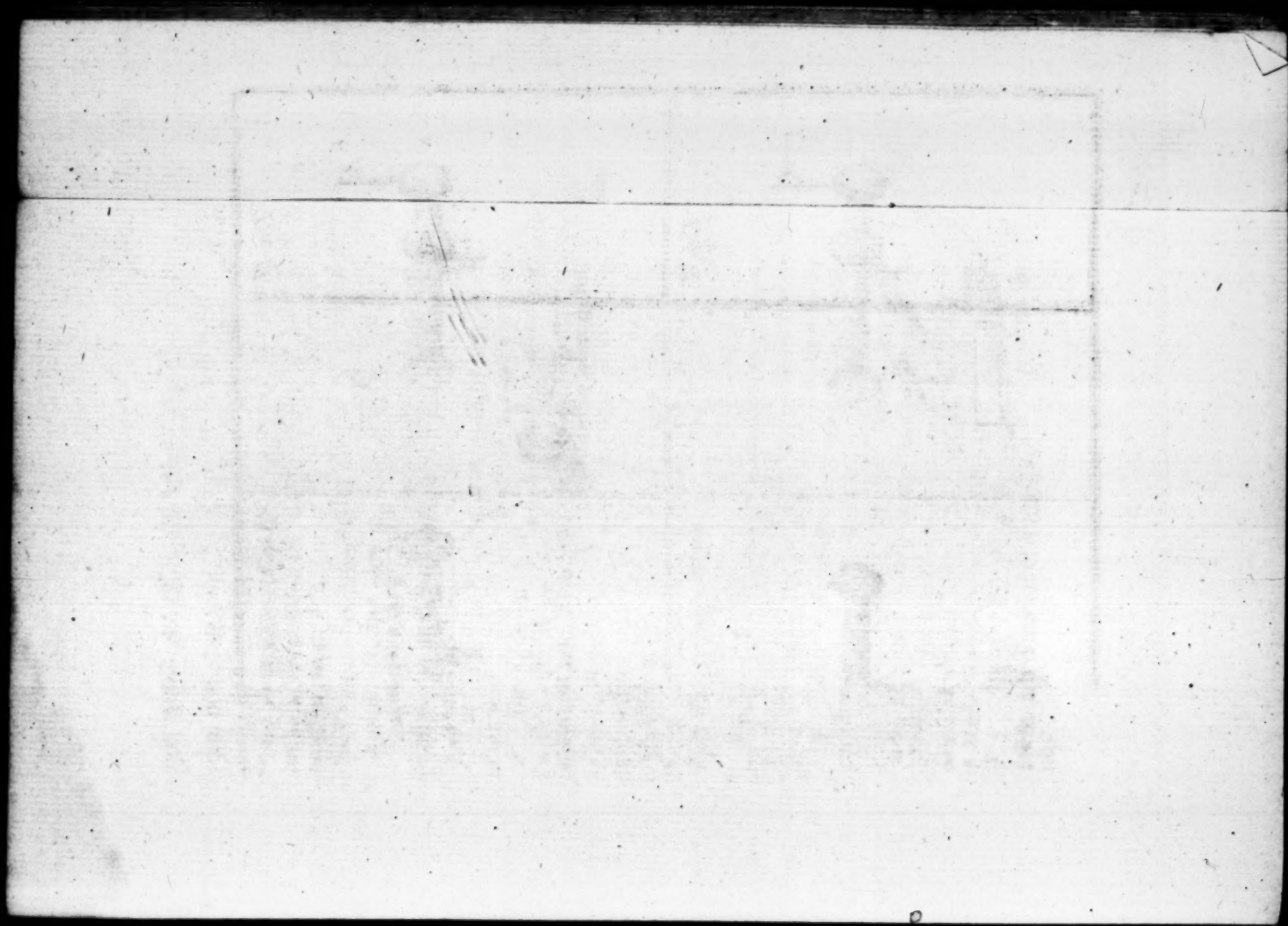
The din of the market * increases upon me; and that, with frequent interruptions, has, I find, made me say some things twice over; and, I suppose, forget some others I intended to say. It has, however, one good effect, as it obliges me to come to the relief of your patience with

Your humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

* [Hungerford-market, near Craven-street, where Dr. Franklin usually resided when in London. E.]

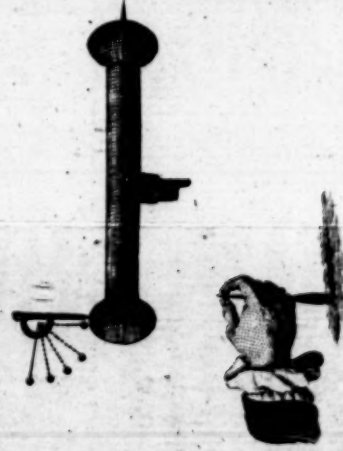
Experiments



Exp. I.



Exp. II.



Exp. IV.

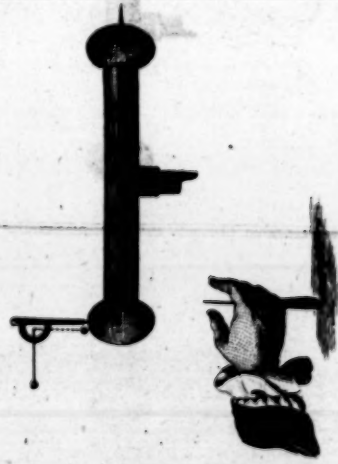


Exp. V.

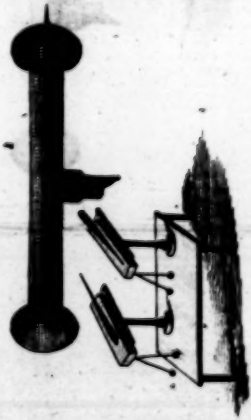


To Face P. 487

Exp. III.



Exp. VI.



Experiments, Observations, and Facts, tending to support the opinion of the utility of long pointed rods, for securing buildings from damage by strokes of lightning †.

EXPERIMENT I.

THE prime conductor of an electric machine,

A. B. † being supported about $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the table by a wax-stand, and under it erected a *pointed wire* $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick, tapering to a sharp point, and communicating with the table; When the *point* (being uppermost) is *covered* by the end of a finger, the conductor may be full charged, and the electrometer c , will rise to the height indicating a full charge: But the moment the point is *uncovered*, the ball of the electrometer drops, shewing the prime conductor to be instantly discharged and nearly emptied of its electricity. — Turn the wire its *blunt* end upwards, (which represents an unpointed bar,) and no such effect follows, the electrometer remaining at its usual height when the prime conductor is charged.

Observation. What quantity of lightning, a high pointed rod well communicating with the earth may be ex-

† Read at the committee appointed to consider the erecting conductors to secure the magazines at Purfleet. Aug. 27. 1772.

† See see place. E.]

edit has been

pected to discharge from the clouds silently in a short time, is yet unknown; but I have reason from a particular fact to think it may at some times be very great.—In Philadelphia I had such a rod fixed to the top of my chimney, and extending about nine feet above it. From the foot of this rod, a wire (the thickness of a goose quill) came through a covered glass tube in the roof, and down through the well of the stair-case; the lower end connected with the iron spear of a pump. On the stair-case opposite to my chamber-door, the wire was divided; the ends separated about six inches, a little bell on each end; [and] between the bells a little brass ball suspended by a silk thread, to play between and strike the bells when clouds passed with electricity in them. After having frequently drawn sparks and charged bottles from the bell of the upper wire, I was one night waked by loud cracks on the stair-case. Starting up and opening the door, I perceived that the brass ball, instead of vibrating as usual between the bells, was repelled and kept at a distance from both; while the fire passed sometimes in very large quick cracks from bell to bell; and sometimes in a continued dense white stream, seemingly as large as my finger, whereby the whole stair-case was enlightened as with sunshine, so that one might see to pick up a pin *. And from the

* Mr. De Romas saw still greater quantities of lightning brought down by the wire of his kite. He had "explosions from it, the noise " of which greatly resembled that of thunder, and were heard (from " without) into the heart of the city, notwithstanding the various " noises there.—The fire seen at the instant of the explosion had the " shape

apparent quantity their discharged, I cannot but combine that *explanation* of such conductors must considerably lessen that of any approaching cloud, before it comes to near as to deliver its contents in a general stroke!—An effect not to be expected from *hairsprung* as if the above experiment with the blunt end of the wire is deemed pertinent to the case; in which case, *EXPERIMENT H.*

On the pointed wire under the prime conductor continuing of the same height, *which* is between the thumb and finger near the top, so as *left to conceal* the point; then turning the globe, the electrometer will rise and mark the full charge. Slip the fingers down so as to discover about half an inch of the wire, then another half inch, and then another; at every one of these motions *discovering more and more* of the pointed wire; you will see the electrometer fall quick and proportionably, stopping when you stop. If you slip down the whole distance at once, the ball falls instantly down to the stem, *and to the bottom of the tube.*

From this experiment it seems that a greater effect in drawing off the lightning from the clouds may be expected from long pointed rods, than the shape of a spindle eight inches long, and five lines in diameter.— Yet from the time of the explosion to the end of the experiment, no lightning was seen above; nor any thunder heard.—At another time the streams of fire issuing from it were observed to be an inch thick and ten feet long.—See Dr. Priestley's *History of Electricity*, pages 354-6, *first edition*.

Twelve were proposed on and near the magnet at Paris, from
R r r

from *short* ones; I mean from such as show the greatest length, above the building they are fixed on.

EXPERIMENT III.

Instead of pinching the point between the thumb and finger, as in the last experiment, keep the thumb and finger each at *near an inch distance* from it, but at the *same height*, the point between them. In this situation, though the point is fairly exposed to the prime conductor, it has little or no effect; the electrometer rises to the height of a full charge.—But the moment the fingers are *taken away*, the ball falls quick to the stem.

Observation.

To explain this, it is supposed, that one reason of the sudden effect produced by a long naked pointed wire is, that (by the repulsive power of the positive charge in the prime conductor) the natural quantity of electricity contained in the pointed wire is driven down into the earth, and the point of the wire made *strongly negative*; whence it attracts the electricity of the prime conductor more strongly than bodies in their natural state would do; the *small quantity of common matter* in the point, not being able, by its attractive force to retain its *natural quantity of the electric fluid*, against the force of that repulsion.—But the finger and thumb being substantial and blunt bodies, though as near the prime conductor, hold up better their *own* natural quantity against the force of that repulsion; and so, continuing nearly in the natural state, they jointly operate on the electric

electric fluid in the point, opposing its descent, and *aiding the point* to retain it †; contrary to the repelling power of the prime conductor, which would drive it down.—And this may also serve to explain the different powers of the point in the preceding experiment, on the slipping down the finger and thumb to different distances*.

Hence is collected, that a pointed rod erected *between two tall chimnies*, and very little higher, (an instance of which I have seen) cannot have so good an effect, as if it had been erected on one of the chimneys, its whole length above it.

EXPERIMENT IV.

If, instead of a long pointed wire, a *large solid body*, (to represent a building without a point) be brought under and as near the prime conductor, when charged; the ball of the electrometer will fall a little; and on taking away the large body, will rise again.

Observation.

Its rising again shows that the prime conductor lost little or none of its electric charge, as it had done through the point: The *falling* of the ball while the large body was under the conductor, therefore shows that a quantity of its atmosphere was drawn from the end where the electrometer

† [Perhaps their first and principal tendency is, to repel and thereby lessen the influence of the fluid in the conductor. See the concluding note. E.]

* [If I remember well, the French translation of this paper in M. Dubourg's edition, requires some revision as to this paragraph. E.]

is placed * to the part immediately over the large body, and there accumulated *ready* to strike into it with its whole undiminished force, as soon as within the striking distance; and, were the prime conductor moveable like a *cloud*, it would approach the body by attraction till within that distance. The swift motion of clouds, as driven by the winds, probably prevents this happening so often as otherwise it might do; for, though parts of the cloud may stoop towards a building as they pass, in consequence of such attraction, yet they are carried forward beyond the striking distance before they could by their descending come within it.

EXPERIMENT V.

Attach a small light lock of *cotton* to the underside of the prime conductor, so that it may hang down towards the pointed wire mentioned in the first experiment. Cover the point with your finger, and the globe being turned, the cotton will extend itself, stretching down towards the finger as at *a*; but on *removing* the point, it instantly flies up to the prime conductor, as at *b*, and continues there as long as the point is uncovered. The moment you cover it again, the cotton flies down again, extending itself towards the finger; and the same happens in degrees, if (instead of the finger) you use, uncovered, the *blunt* end of the wire uppermost.

* [i. e. drawn for a time, to a different part of the conductor, but not out of it. E.]

Observation.

To explain this, it is supposed that the cotton, by its connection with the prime conductor, receives from it a quantity of its electricity; which occasions its being attracted by the *finger* that remains still in nearly its natural state. But when a *point* is opposed to the cotton, its electricity is thereby taken from it, faster than it can at a distance be supplied with a fresh quantity from the conductor. Therefore being reduced *nearer* to the natural state, it is attracted *up* to the electrified prime conductor; *rather than down*, as before, to the finger.

Supposing farther that the prime conductor presents a cloud charged with the electric fluid; the cotton, a ragged fragment of cloud (of which the underside of great thunder clouds are seen to have many;) the finger, a chimney or highest part of a building.—We then may conceive that when such a cloud passes over a *building*, some one of its ragged under-hanging fragments may be drawn down by the chimney or other high part of the edifice; creating thereby a *more easy communication* between it and the great cloud.—But a *long pointed rod* being presented to this fragment, may occasion its receding, like the cotton, up to the great cloud; and thereby *increase*, instead of *lessening* the distance, so as often to make it *greater* than the striking distance.—Turning the *blunt end of a wire* uppermost, (which represents the unpointed bar) it appears that the same good effect is not from that to be expected.—A long pointed rod it is therefore imagined, may *prevent* some strokes;

strokes; as well as *conduct* others that fall upon it, when a great body of cloud comes on so heavily that the above repelling operation on fragments cannot take place.

EXPERIMENT VI.

Opposite the side of the prime conductor place *separately*, isolated by wax stems, Mr. Canton's two boxes with pith balls suspended by fine linen threads. On each box, lay a wire six inches long and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick, tapering to a sharp point; but so laid, as that four inches of the *pointed* end of *one* wire, and an equal length of the *blunt* end of the *other*, may project beyond the ends of the boxes; and both at 18 inches distance from the prime conductor.—Then charging the prime conductor by a turn or two of the globe, the balls of each pair will separate; those of the box whence the point projects most, *considerably*; the others *less*.—Touch the prime conductor, and those of the box with the *blunt* point will *collapse*, and join. Those connected with the *point* will at the same time approach each other, *till* within about an inch, and *there remain* *.

Observation.

This seems a proof, that though the small sharpened part of the wire must have had a *less natural* quantity in it before the operation, than the thick blunt part; yet a greater quantity was *driven down from it* to the balls. Thence it is again inferred

* [For though the conductor is discharged, the *air* about it is not. E.]

that

that the pointed rod is rendered *more negative*: and farther, that if a *stroke must fall* from the cloud over a building, furnished with such a rod, it is more likely to be drawn to that pointed rod, than to a blunt one; as being more strongly negative, and of course its attraction stronger. — And it seems more eligible, that the lightning should fall on the point of the conductor (provided to convey it into the earth,) than on any other part of the building, *thence* to proceed to such conductor. — Which end is also more likely to be obtained by the length and loftiness of the rod; as protecting more extensively the building under it.

It has been OBJECTED, that erecting pointed rods upon edifices, is to *invite* and draw the lightning into *them*; and therefore dangerous. — Were such rods to be erected on buildings, *without continuing the communication* quite down into the moist earth, this objection might then have weight; but when such complete conductors are made, the lightning is invited not into the building, but into the *earth*, the situation it aims at; and which it always seizes every help to obtain, even from broken partial metalline conductors.

It has also been suggested, that from such electric experiments *nothing certain can be concluded as to the great operations of nature*; since it is often seen that experiments, which have succeeded in small, in large have failed. — It is true that in mechanics this has sometimes happened. But when it is considered that we owe our first knowledge

of the nature and operations of Lightning, to 654. observations on such small experiments; and that on carefully comparing the most accurate accounts of former facts, and the exactest relations of those that have occurred since, the effects have surprisingly agreed with the theory; it is humbly conceived that in natural philosophy, in this branch of it at least, the suggestion has not so much weight, and that the farther new experiments now adduced in recommendation of *long* sharp-pointed rods, may have some claim to credit and consideration.

It has been urged too, that though points may have considerable effects on a *small* prime conductor at *small* distances: yet on *great* clouds and at *great* distances, nothing is to be expected from them. — To this it is answered, that in those *small* experiments it is evident the points act at a greater than the *striking* distance; and in the large way, their service is *only expected* where there is *such* nearness of the cloud, as to *endanger a stroke*; and there, it cannot be doubted the points must have some effect. And if the quantity discharged by a single pointed rod may be so considerable as I have shown it; the quantity discharged by a number, will be proportionably greater.

But this part of the theory does not depend alone on *small* experiments. — Since the practice of erecting pointed rods in America, (now near 20 years^{old}) five of them have been struck by lightning; viz.

• [About the year 1732. E.]

Mr.

Mr. Raven's and Mr. Maine's in South Carolina; Mr. Tucker's in Virginia; Mr. West's and Mr. Moulder's in Philadelphia. Possibly there may have been more that have not come to my knowledge. But in every one of these, the lightning did *not* fall upon the *body of the house*, but precisely on the *several points* of the rods; and, though the conductors were sometimes *not sufficiently large and complete*, was conveyed into the earth, without any material damage to the buildings.—Facts then *in great*, as far as we have them authenticated, justify the opinion that is drawn from the experiments *in small* as above related.

It has also been objected, that unless we knew the quantity that might *possibly* be discharged at one stroke from the clouds, we cannot be sure we have provided *sufficient* conductors; and therefore cannot depend on their conveying away *all* that may fall on their points.—Indeed we have nothing to form a judgment by in this case but past facts; and we know of no instance where a *complete* conductor to the moist earth *has* been insufficient, if half an inch diameter. It is probable that many strokes of lightning have been conveyed through the common leaden pipes affixed to houses to carry down the water from the roof to the ground: and there is no account of such pipes being melted and destroyed, as must sometimes have happened if they had been insufficient.—We can then only judge of the dimensions proper for

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a conductor of lightning, as we do of those proper for a *conductor of rain*, by past observation. And as we think a pipe of three inches bore sufficient to carry off the rain that falls on a square of 20 feet, because we never saw such a pipe glutted by any shower; so we may judge a conductor of an inch diameter, more than sufficient for any stroke of lightning that will fall on its point. It is true that if another deluge should happen wherein the windows of heaven are to be opened, such pipes may be unequal to the falling quantity; and if God for our sins should think fit to rain fire upon us, as upon some cities of old, it is not expected that our conductors of whatever size, should secure our houses against a miracle.—Probably as water drawn up into the air and there forming clouds, is disposed to fall again in *rain* by its natural gravity, as soon as a number of particles sufficient to make a drop can get together; so when the clouds are (by whatever means) over or under-charged [with the *electric fluid*] to a degree sufficient to attract them towards the earth, the equilibrium is restored, before the difference becomes great beyond that degree. Mr. *Lane's electrometer*, for limiting precisely the quantity of a shock that is to be administered in a medical view, may serve to make this more easily intelligible. The discharging knob does by a screw approach the conductor to the distance intended, but there remains fixed. Whatever power there may be in the glass globe to collect the fulminating fluid, and whatever capacity of receiving and accumulating it there

there may be in the bottle or glass jar; yet neither the accumulation or the discharge, ever exceeds the defined quantity. Thus, were the *clouds* always at a certain fixed distance from the earth, all discharges would be made when the quantity accumulated was equal to the distance: But there is a circumstance which by occasionally lessening the distance, lessens the discharge; to wit, the moveableness of the clouds, and their being drawn nearer to the earth by attraction when electrified; so that discharges are thereby rendered more frequent and of course less violent. Hence whatever the quantity may be in nature, and whatever the power in the clouds of collecting it; yet an accumulation and force beyond what mankind has hitherto been acquainted with, is scarce to be expected*.

Aug. 27, 1772.

B. F.

* [It may be fit to mention here, that the immediate occasion of the dispute concerning the preference between pointed and blunt conductors of lightning, arose as follows.—A powder mill having blown up at Brescia, in consequence of its being struck with lightning, the English board of ordnance applied to their painter, Mr. Wilson, then of some note as an electrician, for a method to prevent the like accident to their magazines at Purfleet. Mr. Wilson having advised a blunt conductor, and it being understood that Dr. Franklin's opinion, formed upon the spot, was for a pointed one; the matter was referred in 1772, to the Royal Society, and by them as usual, to a committee, who, after consultation, prescribed a method conformable to Dr. Franklin's theory. But a harmless stroke of lightning, having under particular circumstances, fallen upon one of the buildings and its apparatus in May 1777; the subject came again into violent agitation, and was again referred to the society, and by the society again referred to a new committee, which committee confirmed

500 *Of the Dispute about pointed Conductors.*

confirmed the decision of the first committee. As the dispute in the public opinion is not yet closed, for this and for other reasons, I have been very summary in my account of it.—It is superfluous to add perhaps, that in the course of this controversy, (which after occupying attention from the first personages at home, has found its way abroad) Mr. Henry and Mr. Nairne have very much signalized themselves, as Dr. Franklin's defenders; and that our author's opinions are now likely to find another principal and farther advocate in Lord Viscount Mahon.

Without going much into the general question, I beg permission here, to throw out a hint, on the nature and effect of blunt and pointed terminations in conductors of the electric fluid.—A point of conducting matter, it may be observed, attracts the fluid by virtue only of that single point. But if a mass of such matter is connected with the fluid, the fluid becomes attracted not only by the particle of matter diametrically before it, but by those particles likewise that lie to the right and left of it: Just as when three or four persons sit close together in a row at a table, with each a taper before him, reading; they not only receive the illumination of their own particular taper, but that proceeding from the *side rays* of their neighbours; so as all of them to see better, than if each were placed with his taper in a separate room.—But farther. When conducting bodies connected with the earth, are said to be in their natural state respecting electricity, it is not meant that they are then *without* electricity; but only that they have no more than their share in the general distribution of it throughout nature: Every such body has its portion; greater or smaller according to what it is able relatively to contain. The point, and the blunt mass therefore just mentioned, have *different* collections of fluid, even in what is called their *natural state**; because the retaining power in blunt bodies is greater, in *proportion* to its number of particles, than in the point†.—When therefore a *preternaturally* charged body is presented to such a blunt body, it finds in it a considerable collection of fluid, by which its own charge is repelled, and that at some distance. But when a point is presented, the fluid of the preternaturally charged body approaches very near it, and then by its superior force (more easily

* [This natural state is a sort of mean, between the preternatural and negative states; and its existence is well known from many experiments to electricity. E.]

† [It is true also that when the charge thickens, the *repulsion* of the fluid increases for the same, and other reasons; but then, to a certain pitch, the superior force of the increased attraction balances this. E.]

than

than in the former case) drives away the natural charge, in order to get at the point; which having done, it quickly makes use of it as a mere conductor. In this case it is seen why a preternatural charge easily pushes *into* a point, to which it is placed opposite, (in order to come to an equilibrium with the earth.)—But a preternatural charge also easily pushes *out* of a point, with which it is connected, in order to go into the neighbouring bodies; for a preternatural electric charge is (if one may be allowed the expression) so self-repellent, as to be ever ready to burst and disperse; and as it is of no consequence that some parts of the body in which it resides, are faithful to their trust, provided other parts are so weak as to admit its escape, the neighbouring bodies contest the possession at the weaker spot; and by that means draw off so much of the charge as is preternatural, soon leaving the fluid reduced to its natural standard.

—In the cases therefore both of ingress and egress, the point is with great facility stripped of its natural charge, and becomes converted for a moment from a retainer of the fluid into a mere conductor of it.

As to the case of *conductors against lightning*, one may be very well content to have found out a means of contriving a passage for the stroke, where it can do no harm, which passage it shall *prefer* to the building, to which it might do harm. And a metal rod it seems answers this purpose; being cheap with respect to expense, and a much better inviter of the fluid than the building. But for the same reason that we use a metalline rod, as being a better conductor of the fluid, than the building itself, it should seem that we ought to prefer a metalline rod that is *pointed*; because the point (virtually) greatly *increases* the inviting powers of the metal.—It is not indeed to be supposed that we should construct the pointed conductors of a *quiescent* height; so as to make them interfere with lightning that would not itself interfere with the building.*—But, if it should appear, that the rods prescribed for common use are more than sufficient to conduct the largest stroke ever known to take place; and if it should also appear that *slender* elevated points have a remarkable tendency not only to conduct a stroke when upon its passage, preferably to a blunt termination; but to steal it away from the charged clouds silently and piece-meal, *before* it can come in the form of a stroke, thereby preventing that stroke; (and all these circumstances do very evidently appear;) then it will be found that much more danger is *left* by low conductors, than can possibly be *incurred* by any particularly elevated pointed ones; and consequently that

* [Unless for instance it was placed on some principal eminence or building in a town, where it should serve by that means as a sort of general protection to the town. E.]

502 *Objections to this Theory answered.*

it is much safer to exceed in the one way, than to be deficient in the other.—As to the points on the several buildings at Purfleet, the only fault in them, (if there was any fault) seems to have been their *not* being high and frequent *enough*.

There is more perhaps to be said on these subjects, but these pages are the property of Dr. Franklin. E.]

P. S. There is a difficulty however to be answered here with respect to the *attractive* influence of *blunt* conductors. For it may be thought that if a blunt body acts so powerfully upon its natural charge, it ought for the same reason to be *proportionably inviting* to a FOREIGN charge.—Let then the letters A B C, in the order in which they stand, respectively represent the blunt body, the natural charge, and the foreign charge. The foreign charge is here allowed to be strongly attracted by the blunt body A; but since the natural charge B intervenes between them, the repellency of that natural charge acts from a *nearer* point than the attraction of A; and as its quantity and repellency is in the first instance proportioned (in some measure) to the attraction of A, and it has the advantage of position; the invitation to a foreign charge is thus considerably checked in the blunt body.—As to the point, *its* merit lies, not in its attraction of the fluid, but in its giving little opposition to its passage, whether it be going in or coming out of it.

But farther: It may be thought that if a superior quantity of natural charge surrounds blunt bodies, compared with pointed ones; Mr. Canton's *pith-balls* ought to *discover the difference*.—But I answer that the superior charge in blunt bodies cannot affect the balls *by attracting* them; For attraction acts only between bodies that are disproportionately charged; but as the balls and blunt body have equally been communicating with the mass of fluid in the earth, the affair of competition and proportion has been previously settled between them, and they cannot now differ. Neither can the charge of the blunt body *repel* the balls; For since other bodies drawing proportionable shares of fluid from the earth surround or in the present state of things are connected with the balls; those other bodies must lose their charges, before the balls can be driven back upon them; but those charges are held up in the bodies by the common mass of fluid in the earth, which is the same force that holds up the fluid in the blunt body itself, (that would otherwise become dispersed, down to a certain proportion.)—However though *bodies* containing the natural charge, are thus seen not affected by its different distributions, yet it may happen otherwise with the *fluid* itself that constitutes this charge: For suppose two *blunt* bodies, communicating with the earth, to be brought near each other; the fluid in each body repelling that in the opposite, and the attraction in

in each body diminishing that in the opposite, some of the fluid from each body must recoil and retire into the earth; the mass of fluid in which earth therefore must for the time be augmented and disturbed; though in a degree so infinitely small, as to be insensible*.

In like manner if several *pointed* conductors that before stood separate, are put by the side of each other; they will instantly have more fluid collected round them, than when in their separate state; (owing to the union of each other's spare lateral influences, as mentioned above:) Which shews that conductors with *single* points, or otherwise points placed *sufficiently* *asunder* †, are the safest for our buildings and the most powerful for our electrical machines. In which latter case (of the machines) the necessity for *retaining* the fluid that is collected, affords a farther and stronger reason against their multiplicity; since if by any accident, points are placed in a situation where they do *not receive* the fluid, they will in general be sure to *emit* it. E.]

* [The difference of juxtaposition and separation in bodies, as to the charges they will contain, is proved in Dr. Franklin's letters, p. 129, 130, and in Beccaria on Artificial Electricity, art. 457; the same thing happening in an artificial charge, which is here affirmed concerning a *natural* one. E.]

† [Therefore pieces of metal with teeth like a *saw*, seem on several accounts not to proper as long slender points of metal. E.]

*Suppositions and Conjectures towards forming an
Hypothesis, for the explanation of the Aurora
Borealis *.*

1. **A**IR heated by any means, becomes rarified, and specifically *lighter* than other air in the same situation not heated.

2. Air being made thus lighter rises, and the neighbouring cooler heavier air takes its place..

3. If in the middle of a room you heat the air by a stove, or pot of burning coals near the floor, the heated air will *rise* to the ceiling, spread over the cooler air till it comes to the cold walls; there, being condensed and made heavier, it *descends* to supply the place of that cool air which had moved towards the stove or fire, in order to supply the place of the heated air which had ascended from the space around the stove or fire.

4. Thus there will be a continual circulation of air in the room; which may be rendered visible by making a little smoke, for that smoke will rise and circulate with the air.

[N. B. Whenever an asterisk or other mark is put in the text above, a note to correspond with it will be found at the end of the piece; *numbered* as the article in the text is numbered, and the subject of it there briefly recapitulated. The notes may be read at leisure. E.]

5. A similar operation is performed by nature on the air of this globe. Our atmosphere is of a certain height, perhaps at a medium [] miles: Above that height it is so rare as to be almost a vacuum. The air heated between the tropics is continually rising; its place is supplied by northerly and southerly winds, which come from the cooler regions.

6. The light heated air floating above the cooler and denser, must spread northward and southward, and descend near the two poles, to supply the place of the cool air, which had moved towards the equator.

7. Thus a circulation of air † is kept up in our atmosphere, as in the room above mentioned.

8. That heavier and lighter air may move in currents of different and even opposite direction, appears sometimes by the clouds that happen to be in those currents, as plainly as by the smoke in the experiment above mentioned.—Also in opening a ~~door~~ between two chambers, one of which has been warmed; by holding a candle near the top, near the bottom, and near the middle, you will find a strong current of warm air passing out of the warmed room above, and another of cool air entering below; while in the middle there is little or no motion.

9. The great quantity of vapour rising between the tropics forms clouds, which contain much electricity.

Some of them fall in rain, before they come to the polar regions.

10. If

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506 *Conjectures about the Aurora Borealis.*

10. If the rain be received in an isolated vessel, the vessel will be electrified; for every drop brings down some electricity with it.

11. The same is done by snow or hail.

12. The electricity so descending, in temperate climates, is received and imbibed by the earth.

13. If the clouds are not sufficiently discharged by this gradual operation, they sometimes discharge themselves suddenly by striking into the earth, where the earth is fit to receive their electricity.

14. The earth in temperate and warm climates is generally fit to receive it, being a good conductor.

15. A certain quantity of heat will make some bodies good conductors, that will not otherwise conduct.

16. Thus wax rendered fluid, and glass softened by heat, will both of them conduct.

17. And water, though naturally a good conductor, will not conduct well, when frozen into ice by a common degree of cold; not at all, where the cold is extreme †.

18. Snow falling upon frozen ground has been found to retain its electricity; and to communicate it ‡ to an isolated body, when after falling, it has been driven about by the wind.

19. The

19. The humidity contained in all the equatorial clouds that reach the polar regions, must there be condensed and fall in snow.

20. The great cake of ice that eternally covers those regions may be too hard frozen to permit the electricity, descending with that snow †, to enter the earth.

21. It may therefore be *accumulated upon that ice.*

22. The atmosphere being heavier in the polar regions, than in the equatorial, will there be lower; as well from that cause, as from the smaller effect of the centrifugal force: consequently the distance of the vacuum above the atmosphere will be less at the poles, than elsewhere; and probably much less than the distance (upon the surface of the globe) extending from the pole to those latitudes in which the earth is so thawed as to receive and imbibe electricity; (the frost continuing to lat. 80 †, which is ten degrees, or 600 miles from the pole; while the height of the atmosphere there of such density as to obstruct the motion || of the electric fluid, can scarce be esteemed above [] miles).

23. The *vacuum* above is a good conductor*.

24. May not then the great quantity of electricity, brought into the polar regions by the clouds, which are condensed there, and fall in snow, which electricity would enter the earth,

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but

but cannot penetrate the ice; may it not, I say, (as a *bottle overcharged*) break through that low atmosphere, and run along in the vacuum over the air towards the equator; diverging as the degrees of longitude enlarge; strongly visible where densest, and becoming less visible as it more diverges; till it finds a passage to the earth in more temperate climates, or is mingled with their upper air?

25. If such an operation of nature were really performed, would it not give all the appearances of an AURORA BOREALIS?

26. And would not the auroras become more frequent *after the approach of winter* †: not only because more visible in longer nights; but also because in summer the long presence of the sun may soften the surface of the great ice cake, and render it a conductor, by which the accumulation of electricity in the polar regions will be prevented?

27. The *atmosphere of the polar regions* ‡ being made more dense by the extreme cold, and all the moisture in that air being frozen; may not any great light arising therein, and passing through it, render its density in some degree visible during the night time, to those who live in the rarer air of more southern latitudes; and would it not in that case, although in itself a complete and full circle, extending perhaps ten degrees from the pole, appear to spectators so placed (who could see only a part of it) *in the form of a segment*; its chord

chord resting on the horizon, and its arch elevated more or less above it as seen from latitudes more or less distant; *darkish in colour*, but yet *sufficiently transparent* to permit some stars to be seen thro' it.

28. The rays of electric matter issuing out of a body, diverge * by mutually repelling each other, unless there be some conducting body near, to receive them: and if that conducting body be at a greater distance, they will *first diverge*, and then *converge* in order to enter it. May not this account for some of the varieties of figure seen at times in the *motions* of the luminous matter of the auroras: since it is possible, that in passing over the atmosphere, from the north in all directions or meridians, towards the equator, the rays of that matter may find in many places, portions of cloudy region, or moist atmosphere under them, which (being in the natural or negative state) may be fit to receive them, and towards which they may therefore converge: and when one of those receiving bodies is more than saturated, they may *again* diverge from it, towards other surrounding masses of such humid atmosphere, and thus form the *crowns* †, as they are called, and other figures mentioned in the histories of this meteor ‡ ?

Notes to the preceding Paper.

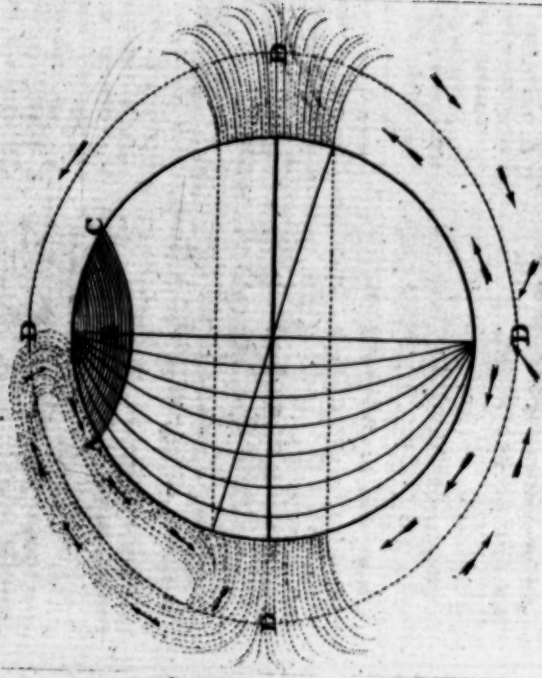
* [If I mistake not, this paper was read to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, at the meeting held immediately after Easter 1779.

Discoveries relative to the electricity of the atmosphere, seem the property of Dr. Franklin. Having explained the *substance* of lightning, and the means of *disarming* its fury, having furnished the principal facts and conjectures for determining its *mode of collection and discharge*, along with our *clouds*; it remained for him to instruct us in the history of the *Aurora Borealis*.—He modestly calls it only a preparation towards an hypothesis; but there are few electricians who will not see discovered in it fundamentals of its cause; and hereafter when contemplating this meteor, pay their tribute to Dr. Franklin.

I find it necessary to observe however, that Dr. Franklin appears to have little difficulty in supposing the electric fluid and the matter of the auroras, to be one and the same; and only inquires *how* the fluid comes to be found in a *situation* fit for producing the appearances there exhibited.—He does not therefore enumerate any of those articles in which they mutually *correspond*; such as the diffused milky light, the silent fitting, and sometimes convulsed corrugations of that light, the several varieties of colour, &c. that are alike seen in the auroras, and our less perfect artificial vacuums when electrified; together with other circumstances of resemblance that are to be collected from the hypothesis itself.

The *convulsed* corrugations indeed in the auroras, most resemble the repetitions of the stroke observable in lightning; which however, being acknowledged electrical, comes to the same thing.—And the repetitions in both cases may be supposed owing to the discharge of one collection of the fluid along the conducting passage, being instantly followed by the discharge of another from a more distant reservoir, succeeding into the vacancy the first has left, and then itself rushing in turn to the conducting passage: And, as many in number as the connected reservoirs are, so frequent will be the repetition of the stroke; the first discharges being necessarily the most violent †.—But if these corrugations should *not* all of them

† [Accounts are often given of strokes of lightning, which are said to have divided themselves upon their passage in different directions? May not these appearances more frequently arise from the explosion and dissipation of the first discovered conductors, by the first discharges; which makes it necessary for the following discharges to seek other courses? E.]



The Arrows represent the general Currents of the Air.
 ABC, the great Lake of Ice & Snow in the Polar Regions.
 DDDD, the Medium Height of the Atmosphere.
 The Representation is made only for one Quarter and one
 Meridian of the Globe; but is to be understood the same
 for all the rest.





arise from absolute discharges, (and it may be supposed from observation that they do not,) then perhaps the fluid may be considered at these moments as under the operation of certain accidents that may attend it in its *insulation* †. — Indeed those still and detached *clouds of light*, so often seen in the auroras, out of reach of the north; are hardly to be accounted for, even allowing the theory, without supposing an insulation that is in some degree permanent. E.]

[† § 7. "Thus a circulation of [humid] air is kept up in our atmosphere." — There are some facts to be related here, which may elucidate our author's conjectures. 1°. The *effect of the sun* on our atmosphere is held to be powerful enough, to give an almost inflexible direction to the *lower air* (or *trade winds*) in the northern Atlantic, to the vast distance of 2000 miles from the equator; (which is near $\frac{1}{4}$ of the distance to the polar ice-cake, afterwards spoken of.) — 2°. The course of these trade winds about the tropic of cancer, being to the *northward* of east, implies a *great vacancy* made in those *lower* latitudes where these winds are only at *east*; and as the air in those parts is most rarified and swelled, such vacancy can only happen from the air's rising; particularly as the sea there keeps the heat at a tolerable equilibrium, and vapour may be supposed to increase the volume of air. — 3°. Only about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the equator appears to pass over land; the rest extending *along water*, much of which water is therefore in the way of the heated air's imbibing * — 4°. A small thin stream of air, passing through colder air, would quickly lose its heat; but where a *vast mass of warm air* rises, (such as a segment of the atmosphere,) though the *outer* parts of it that occasionally touch colder foreign bodies may be speedily cooled, yet the circumstances of the situation and exposure only can be expected to cool the *inner* parts. Thus, the vast mass of waters heated by the tropical sun in the Atlantic, and driven by the tropical winds in a heap towards the bay of Mexico, (where it becomes still more heated from being stationary, and this amid surrounding hot lands;) when it comes to run itself off through the gulph of Florida, carries so much heat along with it, that Dr. Franklin found it at 81° †

† [Such as the being disturbed by the neighbourhood or removal of the fluid in the regions below (which may be supposed moving about there in clouds or otherwise;) or the being forced to undergo a fresh distribution from the local increase or diminution of its quantity; or the being affected by undulations in the atmosphere, (amounting not only to mere change of position in the fluid, but to an alteration of the size of the reservoirs in which it is confined;) with perhaps various other circumstances. E.]

* [The proportion of land to water is indeed greater in the other parts of the tropics. E.]

† [In the tropics *upward* of the West Indies, at the same season, it has been found only at 77° (of Fahrenheit.) E.]

in Nov. 1776, when crossing it in his voyage from Philadelphia to France. For though the sides and bottom of this great water-current undoubtedly lose heat, by mixing with colder waters; yet the inner parts (not being able to cool *each other*) retain their heat much longer; and in fact, as Dr. Franklin has farther observed, preserve a considerable share of it up to the banks of Newfoundland. — 5°. How slowly *situation* operates here, appears from considering that this water-current travels only at the *rate* of five or six miles an hour in the gulph itself, and at about two miles an hour perhaps near Virginia; becoming not only slower as it goes on, but thinner (i. e. shallower) and broader also in surface; and yet the distance to Newfoundland is in all perhaps 1300 miles. The same conclusion is to be drawn from the sea's remaining liquid, or at 28½° of heat*, very high up in the polar circles, and within 12 or 15 degrees of the pole to the north: And the same appears from hot blasting winds being found at a great distance from the places where they are formed; and the same, from many of our cold winds.—6°. The *actual* warmth and moisture of the higher air in the tropics, is seen from clouds (or uncondensed vapour) often existing at much greater heights, than those at which mountains, from their situation, remain perpetually covered more or less with snows; and the same appears also in the lower air in the northern regions, when ice-mountains there find means to condense local fogs and clouds out of the air around them.—7°. The mass of warm air coming from the equator may, from the loss at its edges, shrink much in general size; and yet, as it had filled the larger degrees of longitude at the equator, still occupy great proportional room in the smaller degrees of longitude at the pole.—8°. The *surface of the earth in the polar circles* being only about $\frac{1}{11}$ part of what the temperate and tropical zones contain, the mass of cold air there will be found smaller upon comparison than suspected; and confirm section 6, particularly when it is considered, that though these parts of the *earth* are placed for such long periods immovably in the shade, yet the *air* above them is very fluctuating, new successions of it pouring in on every side from parts that are more enlivened.—9°. It would be well to consider to *what bodies* above,

* [At this degree Mr. Nairne has found that *sea water* begins to deposit its salts and congel. E.]

† [As this hot air does not immediately quit the earth, I should conjecture that it is *dry* air, for *vapour* would seem to make it more buoyant, and carry it upwards from the surface. Accordingly these very winds are supposed to have become heated over dry sandy deserts; and though in some cases they pass over a narrow sea, yet they do not immediately perhaps acquire much humidity; the air not always appearing to imbibit humidity from the sea itself in the first instance, but chiefly from the vapour emitted by means of the sea's own proper heat, which heat is very inferior to that of the winds in question. E.]

the

the rising air can *lose its heat* ; there being none that are massy in so rare a medium, and the lighter ones may possibly be thought by this period of time proportionably saturated with heat. — 10° . The particles of air as soon as they become cold, appear to *descend* ; not to rise again, till again properly heated : and those that were before cold, never rise while they continue so : And the winds which blow up to the poles, if they continue to blow on, must turn the poles and blow down into milder latitudes. — 11° . The atmosphere being much the densest near the earth, whatever warms the first three or four miles in depth, reckoned from the surface, warms *half of the whole mass of air* surrounding the globe. — 12° . But if notwithstanding this, (and what Dr. Franklin has said in p. 197-8. of his Letters,) there be thought no such circulation in the atmosphere as above described ; then we may still suppose that moist heated air may rise or be moved forwards at certain seasons from the more temperate latitudes. The heat of Jamaica is rarely equal to that occasionally known at Peterburgh : And Dr. Franklin's theory is more interested in the event towards the pole, than in fixing the origin at the equator. — 13° . What is said here of the northern hemisphere, applies, *mutatis mutandis*, one may suppose to the *southern* : for if the sun's heat penetrates less on that side the line, the cold there extends so much further from the pole, &c. and *vice versa* *. E.]

[§ 14. "The earth, in temperate and warm climates, is generally fit to receive electricity striking suddenly from the clouds : " or if that should be too *dry* at top, its waters, trees, buildings, &c. which reach down to the moister parts. E.]

* [Dr. Forster was for three different years seasons in or near the *southern polar circle*, and observed in one of these seasons seven different auroras in latitudes 58° and 60° ; their appearance being much the same as with us, shooting up from a dark segment in the south. This number is but small ; but he says that he had never read or heard of any person who had before seen them. Indeed the navigators in those parts have been few ; and it is to be supposed chiefly during the summer season.

As to the *auroræ australis*, or southern lights, as they are called, seen in our own latitudes ; They are hardly to be supposed to have reached hither from the *southern hemisphere* ; since our own northern lights are only now and then observed so low down as in the Mediterranean countries. The supposition also is too hazarded, to say that they are formed over insulating *dry* ground to the southward. If there is no mistake therefore in the relation of them, they may be guessed to be owing to electric matter *propagated along the vacuum*, but originating as to its source, in the north ; that origin however being either faint, or having taken place during day-light, or under the screen of clouds. — (See Dr. Forster's Observations in a voyage round the world, p. 120, and the Philos. Transf. for 1764, p. 326-3.) E.]

514 By what Stages the Electric Fluid rises, &c.

[+ § 17. Dr. Franklin very early observed that a *dry* cake of ice, or an icicle, would not conduct a shock. But this was in America: Our ice here is seldom so perfectly frozen in our experiments. (See his Letters, 5th edit. p. 36.) E.]

[+ § 18.—“Snow upon frozen ground, driven about by the wind, retains its electricity.”—Professor Winthrop mentions a singular fact of this kind to Dr. Franklin, which happened at Cambridge in New England, in latitude 42°, where the *air above* became electrified. See Dr. Franklin’s Letters, 5 edit. p. 444. E.]

[+ § 20. —“electricity descending with that snow.”—If one may presume to question this wonderful man, I would ask, Why the redundant electricity should rise only from the snow and hail that has actually *descended*; and not from the same snow and hail while forming in the air? Is not every thing supposed saturated, and therefore repellant, below; and is not the distance shorter from that part of the air where the clouds are, to the vacuum, than from the ice to the vacuum; and does not the fluid thus avoid *much* the densest, and consequently most resisting portion of all the air, namely, that which lies between the ice and the clouds? In short, why may we not leave room for every circumstance to operate, that can possibly disentangle electricity from these bodies while in the regions of the air, instead of confining ourselves to what happens on the mere surface of the earth? May not a cloud as necessarily lighten *up* into the *conducting vacuum* in those latitudes, for instance, as here (where it has both ways to choose) it generally prefers to lighten *down* into the *conducting earth* * ?

But perhaps it seemed to be doubted whether the cold is not at some seasons too great for the existence of clouds (or in other words of uncondensed vapours) in these latitudes; as it certainly seems to be for the formation of deep springs.—But if there *be* a latitude in which on account of the cold, there are at no time clouds; in that latitude there can be at no times snow or hail, (or even ice, unless produced before the present arrangement of the earth;) and consequently no electricity can there be brought down, and no surcharge of it exist. And in such case there would be a bound, beyond which, at that season the aurora would not *originate*.—On the other hand, should the clouds be permitted in any quantity to empty themselves

* [See the 4th quere in the note to article 28.—The only objection seems to be, that in the former case the distance may be too great for a *stroke*; so that one stratum of fluid must be heaped on the back of another, before it can get near enough to the vacuum even for a *gradual discharge*. E.]

Height and density of the Atmosphere. 515

on a cold portion of earth, where the sun could not melt their contents back again; we might then expect a proportional diminution of our waters, and as far as that cause goes, a correspondent addition to our land, as well as—but in a case of speculation only, it is time to stop. E.]

† [§ 22. "The frost continues sufficiently intense for insulation 10 degrees from the pole."—I apprehend that Dr. Franklin here frightens his own theory; and that, at certain seasons at least, and upon land, it extends much farther, even in the northern hemisphere. For confirmation see the note to § 18. E.]

‡ [§ 23.—"Height of the atmosphere of the poles of such density as to obstruct the motion of the electric fluid, &c." It is I believe generally agreed that within certain distances from the earth, whatever rarity the air has at a certain height, at twice that height it is twice as rare, at three times the height four times as rare: The height going in an arithmetical, and the rarity in a geometrical proportion, hand in hand. Thus if the air at the equator was found almost twice as rare at three miles high as at the earth's surface there, we may possibly suppose it entirely so at the pole: Then at the pole, the air at six miles high will be four times as rare as at the surface, at nine miles eight times, at 12 miles 16 times, at 28 miles 600 times, and at 40 miles 10,000 times as rare.—Our most perfect air-pump, on the other hand, rarifies mere air only 600 times (though air mixed with vapour, it rarifies 10 or 20,000 times.) And it is sufficiently known how easily the electric fluid traverses this and other vastly less perfect vacuums of art:—Whether more or less rapidly, provided it be done at all, is of little consequence to the theory: only it is to be conjectured, that the higher the fluid reaches, the easier becomes its passage, at least under certain limitations.—As to the floating of the fluid along the vacuum, as soon as arrived there; it is a sublequent and totally distinct operation.

But perhaps the above measure is exaggerated for the pole. And, though it is not safe to go minutely into the question, yet the atmosphere itself, seems usually thought too far extended upwards; as the very gravity of the particles of air for instance towards the earth (which is a body so large and massy,) may be supposed powerful enough to overbalance their repulsion to each other when they act at such vast distances, and from such points of repulsive matter only, as such rarity implies.

When the aurora is stated by some, to have risen to the immense heights of hundreds of miles, because seen through an immense extent of country; such conclusion ought to be made from particular marks which the phenomenon has afforded, for tracing and identifying it through different regions; For as to a mere confused illumination

U u z

516 Of Electric Fluid moving in vacuo.

mination of the heavens, "though seen in places 1000 leagues " asunder, this might as well be owing to its being very extensive, " as very high;"—Which are nearly words used by Dr. Franklin to Mr. Bartram, upon the subject of an aurora supposed to have been visible both in Philadelphia and London. (See Cotes's Lectures, Ulloa's Voyage, The accounts given by Messieurs Smeaton and Nairne of their air-pumps, Ferguson's Astronomy, article 175, Musschenbroek's Introd. ad Phil. Natur. art. 2502, and Philosc. Transf. for 1752, p. 474.) E.]

[* § 23. "The vacuum above is a good conductor."—By a vacuum here, we are not perhaps peremptorily to understand the intire absence of air; but a situation only where the air is thought sufficiently rare to suffer the fluid to pass easily, rapidly, and conspicuously along.

Under this head, the following short remarks may possibly be of use.—When a given substance conducts the fluid away from a charged body, the attraction afforded by the conductor is assisted by the repulsion of the fluid; the fluid running through the conductor, from one particle to another, till an equilibrium is obtained.—When this operation takes place in *Air*, the chief difficulty consists, not in making the fluid sensible of the attraction of the conductor, but in getting the better of the opposition given to its passage by the air.—But in *Vacuums* where the latter difficulty is almost wholly removed, then an improper disposition of the attracting substances soon begins to be felt; so that for instance, it will be much easier for the fluid to pass a given distance if thrown into a dozen small intervals with conductors between, than to pass the same sum of distance thrown into one large interval with the conducting substances all at the hither end: Just as it is easier for a man (who has only a certain activity) to leap twelve ditches of ten feet each successively, than to leap one large ditch of 120 feet at once.—It is difficult however to determine by common experiments to what distance these intervals in given cases in vacuo, are to be limited. When Messieurs Walsh and De Luc for instance found that in an *arched* double-barometer, in which the quicksilver had been carefully boiled, in order to purge it from air, no shock or spark could be transmitted; it might have been observed that attraction acting in straight lines, or at least in uniform directions, the curve of the barometer would prevent the operation there; for how could the quicksilver in the leg B* move the fluid (supposed low down) on the surface of the quicksilver in the leg A? It could not draw it through the sides of the tubes; nor could it act upon it round by

* See the Plate, P. 522.

Of the Season of the Year for the Aurora. 517

way of the curve; for then it must attract in opposite directions, first up the leg A, and then *down* the leg B: Its powers of attraction therefore being thrown away, the fluid remains at rest with respect to them. But when a few conducting particles become in time introduced into the tube, the fluid is attracted round from particle to particle, till it turns the corner and falls in the way of the other leg's attraction.—So also, when, in a *straight* barometer (exhausted with the same care) an attempt to charge the top of it by a coating on the outside, is said to fail from the too-perfect vacuum giving no assistance within; may it not be supposed owing to the inequality of the contention between attracting particles that are small enough to continue suspended in so rare a medium, when opposed to the attraction of the massy glass?

In the *beavers* however, where there is neither curved tube, nor perhaps much disproportion in the forces of the attracting bodies, the motion of the fluid may be expected to take place at greater intervals: And it may be thought perhaps that the mere *repulsion* of the fluid, without much help from the few attracting bodies that are to be found there, is sufficient for a dispersion to ensue; especially as the fluid may be said originally perhaps rather to have been expelled, than to have been conducted thither. E.]

[† § 26. "Would not the auroras become more frequent after the approach of winter?"—Mulschenbroek reckons up 750 appearances of the aurora, which he had observed in 29 years; and it seems, from his table, (taking it without any comments as it stands) that they are most frequent at the close of winter; They are the next frequent at the close of summer; fewer in winter; and fewest at the winter and summer solstices: $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole number averaged, having appeared in the May months, and only $\frac{1}{12}$ in the June and the December months each.—But these meteors being made jointly to depend on a degree of insulation in the earth, &c. on the one hand, and of moisture in the air on the other; it does not seem enough perhaps to look only to the perfection of the ice, &c. and its after-saturation, with other circumstances, in the north; but we must also attend to the moisture to be raised and imported from the south; Which moisture coming sometimes perhaps along the higher regions of the atmosphere from more distant parts, and sometimes along the surface of the earth from more contiguous parts, to the places where the insulation takes place, the seasons of appearance may hence be affected.—The auroras I would observe, appear most at the periods when the moisture or cold respectively may

* [In our common experiments, Mr. Nairne has proved that much vapour is left or generated in what is called a vacuum; and indeed the fact is perhaps to be explained upon theory. E.]

518 Arc and parallel Rays of the Aurora.

be thought each at their maximum; but as they prevail most when the effects of the *cold* may be conceived usually most complete, one should hence suppose the cold necessary for their formation was harder to procure, than simple moisture. E.]

[† § 27. "The atmosphere of the polar regions being dense, and its moisture frozen, will not any light therein appear to us as a segment of a circle, darkish in colour, &c." I once thought that Dr. Franklin intended a distinction here between that *failed light*, so often seen from these latitudes in the northern part of our horizon; as opposed to those *movable figured lights*, which come to be described in the next paragraph under the head of *rays*: In this case the settled light is only considered as arising from the illumination of the *atmosphere*, by *other rays*, which are less elevated or farther northward, and themselves not distinctly seen; the atmosphere being stated to be dense, as more reflecting and better refracting that light; and clear, as better transmitting it, as well as the light of the stars beyond.—But if Dr. Franklin is here describing (which is most probable) that *dark part* of the heavens seen at the foot of the salient points of the several rays to the north; then perhaps the cause is only owing to that part of the heavens below the rays, (that is, below the height where the fluid begins to be luminous) being rendered dark by the *centroff* with this light. If a tangent is drawn to the globe in our latitudes, and that tangent produced towards the north, the elevation of it with respect to the polar air is very considerable; not however greater than that, which some philosophers have at times, attributed to the auroras. But if the auroras should be held to originate at any time, or at least first to *become visible*, at any distance from the pole; the whole will cease to be a difficulty. E.]

[* § 28 and 24. "The rays of electric matter *diverge*, &c."—Such rays undoubtedly may diverge from repellency, when they arrive in the enlarged degrees of longitude. They would also by the laws of optics, appear near together at their farther ends in the north, even though really parallel: Like the *parallel* rays of the sun; which appear near together towards the sun, wide over the spectator's head, and converging again if they pass the spectator and get to the opposite parts of the horizon; (which last case Dr. Smith in his Optics, mentions to have seen; as I have indeed done myself, more than once.)—Perhaps however, the degree of separation of the rays in the aurora, depends much on the position of the attracting conductors at their higher end: Though I have observed lights shooting along a remarkably *crooked* track in the heavens, at distant repeated times, owing apparently to the position of a particular set of *intermediate* conductors. E.]

[§ 28.

[M.P.] Convergence near our Zenith. Queries. 519

[† § 28. "—and thus form the *crowns*, as they are called, and those figures mentioned in the histories of this meteor."—As to those lights which seem to have a center *near our zenith*, perhaps they are thus disposed, in consequence of the roving fluid (extended northward and southward, eastward and westward, through the vast and general vacuum) being now brought to a focus by a conductor; thence to sink into humid air below as into a quenching * pit of darkness; or (which is the case of Dr. Franklin's *crowns*) to fall forth again to some new conductor aloft.

But I must here beg to introduce some queries. 1°. Why should our histories speak of this *center* of general convergence, as being usually to the *southward* of our zenith here? Is it owing to local moistness in the atmosphere there, from seas or wet land below; or to that being usually the latitude, where the fluid in its progress first meets with humidity† frequent and *elevated* enough to attract it? 2°. Is it again from local incidents that the auroras are usually observed at Upsal in Sweden to appear to the westward of north; and in Greenland and Hudson's Bay, to the *east* or southward of east, but never to the *northward* or north-east?—3°. Is the alleged fact of the *subsistence of these appearances*, for several ages, at different periods in our latitudes; and the great frequency of them for these 50 or 60 years past; to be at all held connected with the suppositions of some of our best philosophers, that there are accounts which bespeak *colder weather in former times to the north*, than is usual now; with a consequent diminution of the ice, &c. both as to its extent, and its perfection as a non-conductor, &c.? Or are we to take opposite suppositions; and say that the earth's growing warmer of late, in some parts, has enabled humid air to penetrate higher up, to spots fitted for the formation of the auroras? 4°. The above place of observation in Greenland, being in latitude 65°, and in Hudson's Bay at 59°, are we to suppose that the aurora *originates* in those or rather in still lower latitudes; or does the fluid only *travel* thither from the north, remaining invisible till attended with particular circumstances? 5°. To determine this, ought not experiments to be made in rarified air, both dry and vapory, denser and rarer, pure and impregnated, cold and hot: and ought we not to be able to say

* [This is a strong expression; but when the fluid moves naked in any quantity and without a conductor, it is as far as we know, *luminous*; and when it enters a sufficient and attracting conductor, its light as far as we know is directly *extrinsical*. E.]

† [This convergence to the south of the zenith is, by some, solved into a mere *optical* appearance. (See Rowlands's Natural Philosophy, Vol. I. part 2. p. 164. 7.) In point of fact, the rays rarely come *diverging* from the north. E.]

[See the Philos. Transf. for 1762, p. 479; Krantz's Account of Greenland, Vol. I. p. 48; and the Philos. Transf. for 1770, p. 130-1.—The *light* of the greater part of these auroras seen in Upsal and Greenland seem to commence from about the quarter of Iceland. E.]

precisely, on what circumstances the *colours* of the auroras depend; imitating them in their *diffused* form, at pleasure and separately, in our apparatus *? 6°. Should not the meteor be watched at different seasons of the year, at different times of the night, in different weathers †, and in different countries; particularly with respect to its strength duration and frequency, its colours, its quarter of appearance, and the height both of its center and segment mentioned above: and future observations be compared with former histories. 7°. Mr. Canton having in a beautiful theory ascribed the regular diurnal horizontal aberration of the needle to local heat ‡; then observes that the *irregular* diurnal variation may be alike owing to heat in the north; which at the same time that it affects the needle, appears to produce an aurora. As he adds that the aurora is said by the northern people to be remarkably strong when a *sudden thaw* happens after severe cold; I would ask whether this may not arise from warm humid wind, then blowing towards the frozen parts, to accumulate electricity upon the surface? 8°. Would it not be a confirmation of this, should "hard southerly or south-west winds" be often observed to follow in the English channel after an aurora? If the cause of such gales begins first in the north, the air to the southward cannot begin to move till the northern air has *first* left a vacancy; and as such a successive propagation in another case was conceived by Dr. Franklin to be capable of being made at the rate of 100 miles an hour; will it not be a farther coincidence, if the above gales appear in our channel within 24 or 30 hours after the commencement of the aurora ||?—9°. At all events, are we not provided

* [If a passage in a more perfect vacuum is attempted, it might be well to make the vacuum of a broad flat shape, so as to afford a short transit and much space. E.]

† [The nearer the place of observation is to the origin of the aurora and the commencement of its light, the more important it seems to remark the weather, winds, &c. and the face of the earth in those parts, as being made up of sea or land, &c. E.]

‡ [The virtues of bodies that are magnetical, being diminished during heat; Mr. Canton supposes that the eastern parts of the earth being first heated by the morning sun, the inclination of the needle is therefore strongest towards the south during the morning; after the turn of the day, it becomes stationary; and in the evening it returns eastward, the western parts now possessing more heat, and therefore less attraction. And this *regular* variation is, as might be expected, greater in summer than in winter. — The *irregular* variation he attributes to subterraneous heat in the earth; which earth heating the air, might produce the aurora, which he says "is supposed to be the electricity of the heated air above;" and he adds, "This will appear chiefly in the northern regions, as the alteration in the heat of those parts will be greatest." — See the *Philos. Transf.* for 1759, p. 403. E.]

|| [This must be allowed a local circumstance; but as Mr. Wins, who observes it, says, that the knowledge of it has enabled him to make use of or avoid the gale, would it not be well to observe farther (after confirming the remark) if there is not sometimes a correspondence between the quarter of the brighter aurora, and the quarter of the succeeding gale, if any such takes place; as also between the violence of the gale compared with the time of the interval before its commencement. See the *Philos. Transf.* for 1774, p. 128. E.]

with *one* cause of the auroras? And during our present imperfect knowledge, not only of the principles, but even of the events of the atmosphere; are our conjectures to be expected exact in all their minutiae; and is not every thing to be received with candour, that is proposed with diffidence, particularly where nothing is assumed, but to suggest materials?

It is however time to finish these queries and comments; which I do with the sincerest apology. It is seldom that I have been able to follow Dr. Franklin with any thing but admiration, but his own modest invitation to guessers has here tempted me into imprudence. And to say the truth, as his conjectures were novel and incomplete, I wished to prevent or moderate objections from those, who venerate and love him somewhat less than I do; and who may not perhaps have adverted to the views and circumstances of their publication. E.]

• [The following paragraph stands in the original manuscript with a single line drawn through it. As I conceive no other reason for this, than its being merely a general meteorological remark, that arises out of the fundamental principle of this system of the auroras, but relates not to the aurora itself; I have here in a note restored it, to be in time carried to its proper place. § 29. 'If it be true that the clouds which go to the polar regions, and carry thither the vapors of the equatorial and temperate regions, [have their] vapors condensed by the extreme cold of the polar regions, and fall in snow or hail; the winds which come from those regions ought to be generally dry, unless they gain some humidity by sweeping the ocean in their way. And if I mistake not, the winds between the north east and the north west, are for the most part dry, when they have continued for some time.'

Perhaps this may be a fit place to introduce another remark by Dr. Franklin, which has just occurred to my notice. Mr. Winn (in the letter quoted above p. 520. and which was addressed to Dr. Franklin) had stated that since he had first made the observation concerning south or south west winds succeeding an aurora, he had found it invariably obtaining in twenty-three instances; and he adds in a farther note, dated Jan. 22, 1773, a fresh confirming instance. Dr. Franklin then makes the following conjecture:—'The *Aurora borealis*, though visible almost every night of clear weather in the more northern regions and very high in the atmosphere; can scarce be visible in England, but when the atmosphere is pretty clear of clouds for the whole space between us and those regions; and therefore are seldom visible here.—This extensive clearness may have been produced by a long continuance of northerly winds. When the winds have long continued in one quarter, the return is often

X x x

' violent

522 Height of Clouds; with Conjectures.

' violent. Allowing the fact so repeatedly observed by Mr. Winn, perhaps this may account for the violence of the southerly winds, that soon follow the appearance of the aurora on our coasts,' (See the Phil. Transf. for 1774. p. 132.) E.]

[P. S. A person, whose name carries some authority with it, having doubted whether clouds ever fly higher than the point of congelation *seen upon mountains*, I shall confirm my assertion from the evidence of those employed in measuring an equatorial degree on the mountains of Peru.——Twenty-three days in particular were spent on Pichinca summit, about whose elevation congelation usually began; and here they saw not only ice, but snow almost daily, as also hail (which hail from the nature of its formation must have been previous rain that had congealed on its passage;) and the fogs or clouds that usually enveloped this and other like situations, necessarily obliged them to place their signals on lower elevations. Even Cotopaxi itself was covered with ice and snow; and Chimborazo (still higher than Cotopaxi) was seen by M. Bouguer with clouds above it, $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the congelation point; the height of no mountain M. Bouguer had seen, being sufficient to discover what he calls "the upper" term of congelation," or ceasing of snow, &c.

The fact being established, I would thus endeavour to account for it.—It is well known that more of the sun's rays will be received upon a given surface, in proportion as that surface is presented to the rays at right angles, instead of obliquely; So that if a wooden pin were stuck perpendicularly in the ground in the way of the setting sun, the proportion between the length of the pin and its shadow, would truly represent this difference; for if the pin were re-

* [See the plate; and the English translation of Ulloa, Vol. I. p. 230-2, 235, and 460-1 (the sense of which latter passage however seems misinterpreted.)

Philip's voyage indeed (p. 69-71) gives an account of mountains far within the polar circle, that were covered with ice and snow below, but left bare at the top; But this was during autumn; and Maupteruis observed under the polar circle, that the first appearance of thaw in spring time, was upon certain high points, which they themselves "like mountains after the deluge;" (owing to the free action of the sun in part, also to drifting winds, and to the warmer air above probably not being chilled by so approach to the colder level of the earth.) But the absence of the snow here was clearly not for want of clouds; for Captain Phipps says he never remembers observing the sky in these latitudes, without seeing it loaded with hard white clouds. And in Hudson's Bay, the air is seldom or ever clear for 24 hours; having clouds in it when the thermometer has remained 19 days below the 0 of Fahrenheit, and was once 43° below it, (the winds at the time chiefly blowing over cold land of immense extent, without their contents congealing in the course of their vast travels from the warm sea whence they were procured.)

Clouds then appear not only above the point of congelation on mountains taken vertically, but beyond it takes horizontally at certain seasons towards the poles. E.]

moved,



moved, the long horizontal surface now covered by the shadow, would have no more rays to enlighten it, than before fell singly on the pin. Again: transparent air, particularly when rare, is scarcely at all affected by the sun's rays, though collected by a burning glass; abundantly less so than even transparent water; Tho' both subject for the rays to pass through to heat other bodies, and then grow warm by communication with those other bodies.*—Now all the moisture of the earth would probably remain for ever frozen, were it not for the sun; for thus (to mention only one proof at present) it happens in the polar circles, when the sun is absent, or even when his rays shoot seldom and obliquely. In the tropics however, where the sun's rays fall more perpendicularly, and are withdrawn for shorter periods, and where they traverse a shorter section of the atmosphere: the earth's moisture appears not only liquid, but warm.—If a *small* declivity of surface appears in the tropics, that is not opposed to the sun; that declivity may indeed receive few rays in proportion to its surface, and thence its surface have less power in heating the air: but as heat is communicated to it by contact with the neighbouring spots of ground, and by other air that is dense and loaded with dark exhalations and that is heated in the course of a continued passage along an immense warm level of earth; the general surface of this small declivity will appear but little cooler than other more level parts. If a *taller* eminence however occurs, such as a towering mountain; whose sides are necessarily very oblique to the sun, and which can find no other land near it of the same level to communicate heat to it either by contact or by considerably warming the air that is to pass over it, and which has its own air above both clear and rare; such mountain in its higher parts will be found in its original freezing condition.—If therefore the *quarrel* air which Dr. Franklin supposes to rise from the sea at the equator, and having its humidity in a state of transparent solution, comes near such cold mountain; it will grow turbid and full of vapors or clouds; and if those vapors are further condensed and chilled, they will fall in hail or snow.—But it may be asked, whether such mountain will not gradually assume the temperature of the risen air that surrounds it? I answer, that in a course of time this *may* happen; it may already have happened in part: but the change is very slow,

* [The sun (other things being alike) has the appearance of acting *not* upon bodies that are *less* able to reflect or transmit its rays, and its rays cease in part to act as light when they begin to act as heat. But the common theory is, that heat consisting in intestine motion, the reflection of the sun's rays backwards and forwards multiplies the number of times of their action, and increases this motion, and consequently their heat. The atmosphere however (the body in question) is most heated by the sun in its lower parts, when it is somewhat hazy. If it were clear, in the proportion of density in which it surrounds our earth, rays would be transmitted through it perhaps for hundreds of miles. E.]

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for old as the world is grown, mountains of this description are yet but a little way thawed up. Nor is this perhaps wonderful: The heat lost by the air, when it deposits its moisture, is returned to the air in kind, when evaporation takes place upon the mountain, in consequence of the thaw produced: Also when the snow is melted, it not only thus evaporates, but often pours down along the mountain's side, together with the heat that thawed it; As to the sun's rays, the fogs intercept and carry away some of the few directed to its surface, and ice and snow reflect others: And bulk for bulk rare air possesses little heat; and what heat it has, snow (the body it chiefly meets with) is supposed not to conduct well*.

How little proportional heat is communicated by the *atmosphere* to other bodies, is seen by the difference found in our climates between the north and south walls of a house, by the coolness of the air itself in open caves and grottos, &c. &c. and in particular when the earth is covered with snow, we are told that it is very difficult for the frost of the air to penetrate the soil. On the other hand, how extensively though slowly, heat is communicated by contact from one particle of *earth* or *water* to another, will appear by some additional remarks and corollaries; which tend to prove that the earth's temperature generally taken depends wholly upon the sun, and that without this particular heat the earth would remain for ever frozen.—1°. Springs and caves, that are free from minerals and tried at proper depths, seem to correspond with the average-heat of the climate where they are found: the earth at certain depths ceasing to obey the temporary changes of the sun, and only retaining its average operation; or in other words the slow changing masses of the strata below, deducting from or adding to the upper heat, just in proportion as the sun's heat above exceeds or falls short.—2°. The sea in the tropics is gradually colder as we have gone lower down: It is still colder in the cold regions, but liquid as far as the sounding line has gone: Though differing less in the proportion of heat between its surface and lower parts than in the tropics; for were the cold at bottom ever to produce congelation, the ice being specifically lighter, must be expected to rise, and while rising would be melted again quickly by the sea where it still remained liquid.

* [See most particularly Dr. Franklin's theory of heat, P. 350-7, and 419-10. of his Letters, 5th ed.—If it be thought that the mountain ought to be heated by its contact with the ground *spread as its base*, it must be recollected that the earth immediately *under* its base (which of course is very extended) is never *flame* upon it, and that the parts *round* the base taken all together, are for very various reasons left warm below than if there were no mountain near them. As we have never penetrated into the earth's bowels downwards more than one-third of the distance fixed by Ulloa for the point of congelation upwards at the equator, it is not to be expected that we can determine precisely how high up the effect of contact ought to reach. E.]

and

and thence produce (what is seen) a pretty even temperature below *; The parts above being regulated by the mixed operation of climate, evaporation, agitation, and contact. — 3°. Though these effects depend upon the sun, yet its light and rays do not penetrate 100 fathoms into the sea, and not at all into land: consequently the heat must be communicated by contact. — 4°. I conjecture that the moisture of the ground in our latitudes, by its conducting powers as to heat, is one principal cause of this extensive diffusion of warmth by land: for in India during a heat of 112° in the air, ice by being placed in a *dry* pit, in high ground, and surrounded with straw and blanketing (both bad conductors of heat,) is kept unmelted within four or five yards of the surface. And I would ask whether the *dryness* produced by *scorch* is not in this respect of the same nature with this dryness of soil arising from absence of moisture; and whether ice is not for various reasons a worse conductor of heat than water? — 5°. In Siberia † the inner surface of the ground appears always frozen; a fact first intimated by the want of springs, and then discovered by inspection in the course of digging for them; whence one may suppose that the medium temperature of the climate there for a great part of the year is below the freezing point. — 6°. The upper crust of the surface however, is with them for a few feet thawed in summer: as with us it is only to the same depth frozen in winter. — 7°. The difference of heat between day and night, winter and summer, and in different latitudes, all prove the sun's omnipotence; the greater heat and cold (as might be expected where large masses are in question) being always after the *turn* of the season, &c. — 8°. Mines appear to keep a similar gradation of heat with that of the tropical seas: the inner surface here, after the season has for some time turned, being respectively warmer or colder than the upper surface; (which same circumstance is discovered in the temperature of the sea at these times in uneven climates, when furrowed up by storms.) It may be difficult however on account of mineral and artificial heats, the forced circulation of air, and the warmth of the miners bodies, to acquire a just notion of the temperature of mines, and therefore it would be best perhaps to examine the *water* issuing in them at different levels, provided it be pure ‡: and:

* [This perhaps (allowance being made for the form of the vessel, to leave room for the assertion above) will help to explain whence it is, that if fresh water is set to freeze, the unfrozen residuum will always remain at 32°; though the cold is intensified and equally applies to the water and the ice: — a fact noticed by that very accurate and modest experimenter, Mr. Nairne. E.]

† [The rivers of Siberia therefore have their origin in the south, and go on fluid by means of their united masses to the north. In the north probably they *could* not have originated, or at least have been perennial. E.]

‡ [Many mistakes are daily made, even by philosophical persons, in taking the temperature of liquids: — The thermometer should remain *immersed* in them at the moment

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and even then, as ore probably conducts heat better than simple earth, we should not perhaps acquire a perfect scale for the earth's temperature at different depths where there are no mines.—9°. It has been mentioned why the sea is not found frozen at its bottom:—Hitherto in temperate climates also our miners have no where met with ice by land; for hitherto our miners have no where penetrated 3 of a mile below the heights where they have first entered.—10°. The air in the southern hemisphere has been found not to arrive at the same heat that is seen in corresponding situations in the northern one; not merely from the less comparative sun it enjoys, though that is of weight; but owing, I believe (as Dr. Forster has suggested) to the little land now proved to be there: and as I conceive for the following reason. The circulation of the sea prevents its surface from being very warm, and consequently its atmosphere; And, as it prevents it also from being very cold, one might conjecture that it ought to produce a greater equality of temperature; so many and so deep waters (with moistened earth still under) blending together through all their mass, not only day and night, but latitudes and seasons. Accordingly at Hudson's Bay in *north* latitude 59°, while the thermometer has varied through the year 127 degrees; at Falkland's islands in *south* latitude 53°, it has varied but 50 degrees: so that though there may be less snow in the cold parts of the southern hemisphere, there seems to be less actual intensity of cold.—11°. There are other circumstances which prove how powerful a secondary agent the sea is, in modifying the atmosphere on land: and particularly the general even state of weather enjoyed by places which receive the sea winds, and the extremities of season in those which receive the land winds; remarkably proved in middle latitudes (as Dr. Franklin has observed) where westerly winds prevail, and render the western coasts of large tracts of such land of an even temperature, but the eastern coasts and middle territory of a very varying one; the surface of the earth in the one case preserving all the natural inequalities of the sun's operation, and the sea in the other case removing it.—12°. If there be a point of perpetual congelation downwards, as there is upwards, and perhaps horizontally, then we need not fear lest the waters of our globe should leak away; for they may be

want of observation, to avoid the cold from *evaporation*, which in the above experiments in particular cases, would perhaps amount to three or four degrees. So when the heat of pumps or wells is tried, the water that has long been standing at the top should be removed, and the water be obtained fresh from the spring itself, through channels of a corresponding temperature. E.]

* [Dr. Feister, who adapts a very different explanation from the above to the fact he had so happily pointed out, adds "if their summers are so cold, how cold then must be their winters?" E.]

† [Owing to several causes probably. E.]

considered

considered as held in by an impenetrable frozen basin of earth.—
 13^e. Much has been said of subterraneous fires by characters of
 high authority and late date. And it is true that there are a few
 volcanos and hot minerals sparsely scattered in a few countries;
 but they have little effect in warming atmosphere, land, or sea, di-
 rectly contiguous to them; and to suppose that they have much
 influence in forming the general temperature of the globe, is like
 supposing that an immense plain, nearly covered with water, would
 be heated through its whole mass by heat and there a bonfire or
 lime-kiln being placed within it. If the power of these volcanos
 extended even a few miles beyond the seat of their minerals and
 fumes, how happy it that the immense volcanos of Aetna and
 Cotopaxi, suffer a little of eternal frosts and snows to surround
 their feet?—14^o. For the sun itself to have produced all the effects
 above mentioned, the present constitution of things must necessarily
 have long subsisted.—As to the nature of its rays, whether consist-
 ing of emissions both of light and heat together; or of light singly
 and heat consequently; or whether the whole is in no sort an
 emission, but merely pressure or communicated motion; this is not
 the proper moment for discussion. Perhaps there are optical difficul-
 ties attending the last of these solutions; and were the first to be
 held the true one, such powerful heat being incorporated century
 after century with our globe, one might have expected the accu-
 mulation of it by this time to have arrived at prodigious extremes;
 the clear unequivocal progress of which could hardly have escaped
 the notice of history. Alterations in the surface of land excepted
 from the destruction of forests, &c. perhaps the earth may now be held
 arrived at its maximum of heat; but when it is considered that per-
 haps a part of the earth is still in forest that is yet to be cut down,
 this source of fresh heat seems not to be overlooked. The consequences
 attending which circumstance, in another respect, have already
 been serious in the West Indies; for drought in some cases has fol-
 lowed the removal of forests, particularly the mountainous ones;
 because the more naked soil receiving and emitting the sun's heat
 better than the leaves and branches of trees, when the mountains
 become warmer from losing their green, they are less able than
 formerly to precipitate vapors or clouds from the humid air: Hence
 in some of these places the inhabitants are said to be taking measures
 to restore their forests, as in other wetter parts they are in haste to
 have them removed.

I thought to have closed here, but a hint has just occurred to me,
 which I cannot but relate.—Volcanos even in the tropics, do not
 heat their sides and necks, so as to prevent their being frozen; still
 less then do they their roots: Suppose therefore a volcano in some
 northern

528 *A new cause of the Auroras conjectured.*

northern country, to be so high or cold, as to be insulated by frozen ground below. This volcano will cause a heat perpendicularly and to great height over it in the air, not only because its heat ascends, but because the heated vaporized air also ascends: The column of air then corresponding to its base, being lighter than the neighbouring ones, must balance itself by being longer; and thence will stand like a pillar above the rest. As the heat continues, may not the air then, which from the frozen face of the country is surcharged with electricity, flow in turn from the neighbouring surface to form a part of this successive pillar, each particle bringing along with it its surcharge of electricity? And when arrived in turn at the pillar's summit, will not such electricity have a better chance than in any other situation, for projecting itself towards the vacuum above; the pillar not only being thus elevated, but the heat possibly extending still above? And the longer and fiercer the fire, will not the more electrical fluid in turn be transmitted?—*Iceland* is large, elevated, and in 65° of latitude; why may not a volcano of this description be found in *Iceland*, and produce an *Aurora Borealis*? The appearances of some of our auroras about that island*, the frequent volcanos dispersed through it, the flushings of their fire according with the flushings of the aurora, and the possibility of seeing what happens at considerable elevations in that quarter; seem to incline one to the hypothesis. If our auroras have only lately appeared, the same may be the case with the volcano that has produced them; which volcano may cease again, for the same reason, that the volcano of *Hecla* has ceased. And if the aurora usually is seen in the beginning of the night, and is brightest when thaw succeeds after cold; will not this correspond with the idea that humid air is in itself full of electricity; and that as the thaw will be least in affecting the high lands and some inclination to frost may be supposed to attend there after the sun first disappears; the heated pillar of air may thence (at least in certain stages) be well electrified, though the ground below, and perhaps other parts of the surrounding air above, may not yet have acquired conducting powers?—Suppose this matter were more observed.—Though there is but little land in the south, Dr. Forster was not in wide seas, but within a few days sail of *New Zealand*, when he saw the auroras in that hemisphere: Is there no lofty volcano then in *New Zealand*?—The insulation of the volcano, it will be seen is essential to its operation; for were it allowed conducting powers, the whole surplus of electricity would rush through the fire and minerals, to the moistened earth and communicating seas: Hence as it would have spoiled Dr. Franklin's idea of a surcharge, I had always kept volcanos out of the theory; not having till lately adverted to the probability of the section of

* [See page 519, last note. E.]

[M.P.] *A new cause of the Aurora conjectured.* 329

their base being frozen throughout.—However as volcanos are said to require *water* to form their minerals into a paste, it is worth considering whence the water is to come, if frost helps.* to infiltrate the volcano. I know no other solution than the following. If water were once allowed a remarkably mild season for penetrating into the mountain (and the difference of a few inches of thaw, or a chasm formed by an earthquake attending some neighbouring eruption, might effect this) the materials of the volcano might be put into order for an eruption; and an opening being once formed, the water might afterwards be supplied from without: for the Icelanders are said by experience to expect an eruption from a volcano, whenever the ice is formed in masses ready to drop into its crater; and the neighbouring summits might easily give this supply †.—But the whole of this is to be held as conjecture, till confirmed by better observation; for which reason it seems prudent not to venture at present upon any farther minutiae.—It may be proper only to anticipate a considerable objection, relative to the *size of the aurora arc*, compared with the diameter of the crater; which perhaps is done by observing, that when the column of heated air rises to a certain situation, its repulsive force makes it expand and float on the top of the neighbouring columns; and the electric fluid it contains (already spread out by this operation) spreads itself abundantly wider by its own further repulsion as it advances to rarer mediums; till at last it arrives at the diffusion observed when it first exhibits light. Indeed if the top of the pillar of air were not thus successively *removed*, the air below could no longer successively rise.

The facts taken notice of in the course of the notes upon this paper, it may be seen perhaps have other various and extensive applications, but it will be seen also that such applications have no claim to be found in this place. I shall therefore conclude with the following list of references confirming what has been stated in the postscript to these notes.—[I]llus; as before quoted, and vol. I. p. 246; Philosoph. Transf. for 1770, p. 147-9, 129, and 131; Priestley's Optics, p. 426-9; Philosoph. Transf. for 1776, p. 107; J. R. Forster's observations during a voyage round the world, p. 60. (confirmed by the journal of Mr. Bayley in the Adventure hoop) also, ibid. p. 98-99; Philos. Transf. for 1775, p. 459-462, with Martine's Essay on Thermometers, p. 222, and other facts; Phipps's Voyage toward the North pole, p. 141, 142-6, 147; Philosoph. Transf. for 1775, p. 255; compared with 257; Peterburg Memoirs;

* [There must be an absence of moisture, as well as moisture, where the infiltration is.]

† [See Dr. Forster's observations during a voyage round the world, p. 121. compared with p. 101; Ullrich's very sensible theory of volcanos and earthquakes, vol. 2d. p. 23; and the Abbé Prevost's collection of voyages and curiosities, Vol. 18. ch. 26, and 34. 4to 1761. F.]

530 Concluding Remarks from M. Mairan.

De Luc's Account of the mines in the Hartz forest in Germany, also Bergman's Physical Geography; and Muschenbroek's Introduction ad Phil. Natur. artic. 2299. E.]

[N. B. Since writing the above, M. Mairan's *Traité Physique et Historique de l'Aurore Boréale*, 2^{nde} edit. has fallen into my hands.—The theory is singular perhaps, but the historical collection is elaborate and important. It possibly was to supersede the necessity of this theory, that Dr. Franklin has suggested a cause for the frequent appearance of the auroras at the approach of winter: and I find by Mairan's table, that out of 1441 auroras which are recorded during 1168 years, 212 were seen in the months of October, and 202 in those of March; which gives the preference to October, contrary to Muschenbroek, and conformable to Dr. Franklin.—Mairan also makes it clear that the auroras were formerly very infrequent; inasmuch that the number which appeared from 1722 to 1751 inclusively, (amounting to 989 in only 30 years) more than doubles according to his table those that had appeared during the space of 1138 years before.—He seems also to have proved that the auroras are neither perpetual, ancient, nor unusually brilliant towards the high latitudes in this northern hemisphere; and that they are perhaps never seen in it at so low latitudes as 36°.—In the southern hemisphere, he confirms their appearance from Ulloa; who sent him a very satisfactory account by letter, of some that he had seen in doubling the land at Cape Horn; and Frezier also appears to have seen the like in the same situation.—Respecting the height of the auroras, he exhibits a computation made by various philosophers in various manners of certain particular ones, and states the average of them at 175 leagues high (of which leagues 25 go to a degree); the lowest being 47 leagues, and the highest 275 leagues: And in another place he computes the average of them at 200 leagues high, which is 8 degrees or 556 English miles.—See Mairan, p. 554; 547-554; 82-93; 379-389; 104, 437; 438-44; 56-7, 405-6, 412, 433-6: also Newton's Optics, Qu. 28.]

To conclude; when I first read the above paper in May last, I thought I saw true principles contained in it, though I felt difficulties in their application. Upon a due consideration however of the locality of the auroras, the irregular periods of their appearance, and the small elevation of the atmosphere; I find these difficulties to be insuperable. I have therefore applied the same principles of "electrically charged air," and a non-conducting earth, to another hypothesis; which seems to admit a nearer approximation to the truth. For various reasons however, I make no alterations in the notes; which tend to establish two singular facts; viz. that the air is moist and warm at unexpected heights above, and that the earth is frozen at unexpected depths below. July 1779. N. B. *Vide Addenda.* E.] The

The body

Of

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Printer,

(Like the cover of an old book,

Its contents torn out,

And stript of its lettering and gilding)

Lies here, food for worms;

Yet the work itself shall not be lost,

For it will (as he believed) appear once more,

In a new

And more beautiful edition,

Corrected and amended

By

The Author *.

* [A news-paper, in which I have seen this copy of Dr. Franklin's epitaph on himself, says that it first appeared in a *Boston news-paper* established and printed by Dr. Franklin. E.]

A 225 V 65 F M

reaffirmed and binding on Dr. Friedman. [S]
 clearly on point, this time is just abstract in a hypothetical
 "by your behavior in 1976 you are bound by Dr. Friedman's

The Vapor.

24

Collected and studied

And more beautiful criticism,

Итого:

For it will (as he perceived) appear once more

Yet the work itself shall not be lost.

Eyes here, food for worms?

And guide of its return and singing)

Its contents run out,

(Like the cover of an old book,

ДЕНЬ ИЛИ ЭВАНГЕЛИИ? РИМСКОЕ

Of

The body

[M. b.] The Author's Epistle on Hymns.

APPENDIX,

*Containing additional Papers proper for insertion
in the foregoing work.*

*Rules for a Club formerly established in
Philadelphia.*

Previous question, to be answered at every meeting.

HAVE you read over these queries this morning, in order to consider what you might have to offer the Junto [touching] any one of them? viz.

1. Have you met with any thing in the author you last read, remarkable, or suitable to be communicated to the Junto? particularly in history, morality, poetry, physic, travels, mechanics arts, or other parts of knowledge.

[This was an early performance; and carries along with it an air of singularity, accompanied with such operative good sense and philanthropy, as characterizes it for Dr. Franklin's. 't did not come into my possession early enough for insertion in the body of the work; but it belongs to the division of General Politics after p. 81.

—The club ends proposed by it tend to the advancement of a State. — The club for which it was written, was held (as I have supposed) in Philadelphia; and if I am well informed was composed of men considerable for their influence and discretion; for though the chief measures of Pennsylvania usually received their first formation in this club, it existed for 30 years without the nature of its institution being publicly known. E.]

2. What

‘ 2. What new story have you lately heard agreeable for telling in conversation? A

‘ 3. Hath any citizen in your knowledge failed in his business lately, and what have you heard of the cause? *NOT ANSWERED.*

‘ 4. Have you lately heard of any citizen’s thriving well, and by what means?

‘ 5. Have you lately heard how any present rich man, here or elsewhere, got his estate?

‘ 6. Do you know of any fellow citizen, who has lately done a worthy action, deserving praise and imitation? or who has committed an error proper for us to be warned against and avoid?

‘ [7. What unhappy effects of intemperance have you lately observed or heard? of imprudence? of passion? or of any other vice or folly?

‘ 8. What happy effects of temperance? of prudence? of moderation? or of any other virtue?]

‘ 9. Have you or any of your acquaintance been lately sick or wounded? If so, what remedies were used, and what were their effects?

‘ 10. Who do you know that are shortly going voyages or journeys, if one should have occasion to send by them?

‘ 11. Do you think of any thing at present, in which the J unto may be serviceable to mankind? to their country, to their friends, or to themselves?

‘ 12. Hath

‘ 12. Hath any deserving stranger arrived in
‘ town since last meeting, that you heard of? and
‘ what have you heard or observed of his cha-
‘ racter or merits? and whether think you, it lies
‘ in the power of the Juntó to oblige him, or
‘ encourage him as he deserves?

‘ 13. Do you know of any deserving young
‘ beginner lately set up, whom it lies in the power
‘ of the Juntó any way to encourage?

‘ 14. Have you lately observed any defect in
‘ the laws of your *country*, [of] which it would
‘ be proper to move the legislature for an amend-
‘ ment? Or do you know of any beneficial law
‘ that is wanting?

‘ 15. Have you lately observed any encroach-
‘ ment on the just liberties of the people?

‘ 16. Hath any body attacked your reputation
‘ lately? and what can the Juntó do towards se-
‘ curing it?

‘ 17. Is there any man whose friendship you
‘ want, and which the Juntó or any of them, can
‘ procure for you?

‘ 18. Have you lately heard any member’s cha-
‘ racter attacked, and how have you defended it?

‘ 19. Hath any man injured you, from whom
‘ it is in the power of the Juntó to procure re-
‘ dress?

‘ 20. In what manner can the Juntó, or any of
‘ them, assist you in any of your honourable de-
‘ signs?

‘ 21. Have

21. Have you any weighty affair in hand, in which you think the advice of the Junta may be of service + ?

22. What benefits have you lately received from any man not present ?

23. Is there any difficulty in matters of opinion, of justice, and injustice, which you would gladly have discussed at this time ?

24. Do you see any thing amiss in the present customs or proceedings of the Junta, which might be amended ?

Any person to be qualified, to stand up, and lay his hand on his breast, and be asked these questions ; viz.

1. Have you any particular disrespect to any present members ? — *Answer*. I have not.

2. Do you sincerely declare that you love mankind in general ; of what profession or religion soever ? *Answer*. I do.

3. Do you think any person ought to be harmed in his body, name or goods, for mere speculative opinions, or his external way of worship ? — *Ans*. No.

4. Do you love truth for truth's sake, and will you endeavour impartially to find and receive it yourself and communicate it to others ? — *Answer*. Yes.

+ {Queries No. 7 and 8 follow here, in the original. E.}

State of the Constitution of the Colonies, by Governor Pownall †;—with Remarks by Dr. Franklin.

[PRINCIPLES.]

I. **W**herever any *Englishmen* go forth without the realm, and make settlements in partibus exteris, 'These settlements as English subjects, and these inhabitants as English subjects, (carrying with them the laws of the land wherever they form colonies, and receiving his Majesty's protection by virtue of his royal charter * or commissions of government,) 'have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects, to all intents constructions and purposes whatsoever; as if they and every of them were born within the realm †; And are bound by the like allegiance as every other subject of the realm.

Rem. The settlers of colonies in America did not carry with them the laws of the land, as being bound by them wherever they should settle. They left the realm to avoid the inconveniences and hardships

ships

† [This State of the Constitution of the Colonies was printed as the choice of 1769, and communicated to various persons, with a view to prevent mistakes, from the misapprehensions between the government of Great Britain and the people of America. I have taken the liberty of ascribing it to Governor Pownall; as his name could have been no secret at this time.—Dr. Franklin's remarks (which from their early date are the more curious) are in manuscript; and from an observation in reply signed T. P. appear to have been communicated to Governor Pownall.—The larger type with the lower notes; much of which belongs to Governor Pownall; and the smaller type, mixed with the larger one, and signed D. F. marks other things in Dr. Franklin's hand.]

* Prætor and Mæris.

† General words in all charters.

Z Z Z

ships they were under, where some of those laws were in force: particularly ecclesiastical laws, those for payment of tithes and others. Had it been understood that they were to carry these laws with them, they had better have staid at home among their friends, unexposed to the risks and toils of a new settlement. They carried with them, a right to *such parts of the laws of the land*, as they should judge advantageous or useful to them: a right to be free from those they thought hurtful: and a right to make such others, as they should think necessary, not infringing the general rights of Englishmen: And such *new* laws they were to form, as agreeable as might be to the laws of England. *B. F.*

2. Therefore the *common law of England*, and all *such statutes* as were enacted and in force at *the time* in which such settlers went forth, and such colonies and plantations were established, (except as hereafter excepted) together with all such alterations and amendments as the said common law may have received, is from time to time and at all times, the law of those colonies and plantations.

Rem. So far as they adopt it; by express laws or by practice. *B. F.*

3. Therefore all statutes touching the *right of the succession*, and settlement of the crown, with the statutes of treason relating thereto; ‡ All statutes

‡ [i. e.] All statutes respecting the general relation between the crown and the subject; not such as respect any particular or peculiar establishment of the realm of England. As for instance: By the 13th and 14th of Car. II. c. 2. the supreme military power is declared to be in general, without limitation, in his Majesty; and to have always been of right annexed to the office of King of England, throughout all his Majesty's realms and dominions;—Yet the enacting clause, which respects only the peculiar establishment of the militia of England, extends to the realm of England only: So that the supreme military power of the crown in all other his Majesty's realms and dominions stands, *as to this statute*, on the basis of its general power, unlimited. However, the several legislatures of his Majesty's kingdom

The laws respecting *courts baron and copyholdes*; The *game acts*; The statutes respecting the poor, and settlements; and all other laws and statutes having special reference to special and local circumstances and establishments within the realm;—do not extend to and operate within these settlements, in partibus exteris, where no such circumstances or establishments exist.)

Rem. These laws have no force in America: not merely because local circumstances differ; but because they have never been adopted, or brought over by Acts of Assembly or by practice in the courts. *B. F.*

6. No statutes made *since* the establishment of said colonies and plantations, (*except* as above described in Articles 3. and 4.) do extend to and operate within said colonies and plantations.

Quere.—Would any statute made since the establishment of said colonies and plantations, which statute imported to *annul* and abolish the powers and jurisdictions of their respective constitutions of government, where the same was not contrary to the laws, or any otherwise forfeited or abated; or which statute imported to take away, or did take away, the rights and privileges of the settlers, as British subjects:—Would such statute, as of right, extend to and operate within said colonies and plantations?

Answer. No. The parliament has no such power. The charters cannot be altered but by consent of both parties, The King and the Colonies. *B. F.*

[COROLLARIES *from the foregoing Principles.*]

Upon the matters of fact, right and law as above stated, it is, That the British subjects thus settled in partibus exteris without the realm, so long as they are excluded from an intire union with the realm as parts of and within the same; have a right to have (as they have) and to be governed by (as they are) a *distinct intire civil government*; of the like powers pre-eminences and jurisdictions (conformable to the like rights, privileges, immunities, franchises, and civil liberties), as are to be found and are established in the British government, respecting the British subject within the realm.

Rent. Right. B. F.

Hence also it is, That the *Rights of the Subject* as declared in the Petition of rights, That the *Limitation of the prerogative* by the Act for abolishing the Star-chamber and for regulating the Privy-council, &c.; That the Habeas Corpus Act, The Statute of Frauds, The Bill of Rights; do of common right extend to and are in force within said colonies and plantations.

Rem. Several of these rights are established by special colony laws. If any are not yet so established, the colonies have right to such laws: And the covenant having been made in the charters by the King, for himself and his successors, such laws ought to receive the royal assent *as of right.* *B. F.*

Hence it is that the *freeholders* within the precincts of these jurisdictions have (as of right they ought to have) a *share in the power of making those laws* which they are to be governed by, by the
right

right which they have of sending their representatives to act for them and to consent for them in all matters of legislation; which representatives when met in general assembly, have, together with the crown, a right to perform and do all the like acts respecting the matters things and rights within the precincts of their jurisdiction, as the parliament hath respecting the realm and British dominions.

Hence also it is that all the *executive offices*, (from the supreme civil magistrate as *locum tenens* to the King, down to that of constable and headborough;) must of right be established with all and the like powers, neither more nor less than as defined by the constitution and law; as in fact they are established.

Hence it is that the *judicial offices and courts of justice*, established within the precincts of said jurisdictions, have, as they ought of right to have; all those jurisdictions and powers ‘as fully and ‘amply to all intents and purposes whatsoever; ‘as the courts of King’s Bench, Common Pleas, ‘and Exchequer, within his Majesty’s kingdom ‘of England, have, and ought to have; and are ‘empowered to give judgment and award execution thereupon †.

Hence it is, that by the possession enjoyment and exercise of his Majesty’s *Great Seal* delivered to his Majesty’s Governor, there is established within the precincts of the respective jurisdictions

† Law in New-England, confirmed by the crown, O8. 22, 1700. all

all the same and like powers of Chancery (except where by charters specially excluded) as his Majesty's chancellor within his Majesty's kingdom of England hath, and of right ought to have, by delivery of the Great Seal of England. — And hence it is that all the like rights privileges and powers, follow the use exercise and application of the Great Seal of each colony and plantation within the precincts of said jurisdiction; as doth, and ought of right to follow the use, exercise, and application of the Great Seal.

Hence also it is that *appeals in Real actions*, whereby the lands, tenements, and hereditaments of British subjects may be drawn into question and disposed of †; do not lie, as of right: and by law they ought not to lie, to the King in council.

Hence also it is that there is *not* any law now in being, whereby *the subject* within said colonies and plantations can be removed * *from the jurisdiction*

† 16th Car. I. c. 10.

* The case of the court erected by Act of Parliament 11 and 12th of William III. c. 7. (since the enacting of the *Habeas Corpus Act*) for the trial of *piracies*: felonies and robberies committed in, or upon the sea, or in any haven, river, creek, or place *where the Admiral has jurisdiction*, does no way affect this position: Nor doth the 14 s. of the said statute directing that the commissioners, of whom such court consists, may issue their warrant for apprehending such pirates &c. in order to their being tried in the colonies, or *sent into England*; any way militate with the doctrine here laid down: nor can it be applied as the case of a *jurisdiction actually existing*, which supercedes the jurisdictions of the courts in the colonies and plantations; and as what authorizes the taking the accused of such piracies &c. *from these jurisdictions*, and the sending such *so taken* to England for trial.

to which he is amenable in all his rights, and through which his service and allegiance must be derived to the crown, and from which no appeal lies in criminal causes; so as that such subject may become amenable to a jurisdiction foreign to his natural and legal residency; to which he may be thereby transported, and under which he may be brought to trial and receive judgment, contrary to the rights and privileges of the subject as declared by the spirit and intent and especially by the 16th §. of the Habeas Corpus Act.—And if the person of any subject within the said colonies and plantations *should* be seized or detained by any power issuing from any court, without the jurisdiction of the colony where he then had his legal residency; it would become the duty of the courts of justice *within* such colony (it is un-

—It cannot be applied as a case similar and in point to the application of an Act of Parliament (passed in the 35th of Hen. VIII. concerning the *trial of treason*;) lately recommended in order to the sending persons accused of committing crimes in the plantations, to England for trial: Because this Act of the 11th & 12th of William, c. 7. respects crimes committed in places, "*Where the Admiral has a jurisdiction*," and *Cases* to which the jurisdiction of those provincial courts *do not extend*. In the *case of treasons committed within the jurisdiction of the colonies and plantations*; there are courts competent to try such crimes and to give judgment thereupon, where the trials of such are regulated by laws to which the King hath given his consent: From which there lies no appeal, and wherein the King hath given power and instruction to his Governor as to execution or respite of judgment. The said Act of Hen. VIII. which provides remedy for a case which supposes *the want* of due legal jurisdiction cannot be any way, or by any rule, applied to a case where there is due legal and competent jurisdiction.

doubtedly

doubtedly of their jurisdiction so to do) to issue the writ of *habeas corpus* †.

Hence also it is, that in like manner as 'the command and disposition of the militia, and of all forces by sea and land, and of all forts and places of strength'; is, and by the laws of England ever was, the undoubted right of his Majesty, and his royal predecessors Kings and Queens of England, within all his Majesty's realms and dominions †; in like manner as the supreme military power and command (so far as the constitution knows of and will justify its establishment) is inseparably annexed to, and forms an essential part of, the office of supreme civil magistrate, the office of King: In like manner, in all governments under the King, where the constituents are British subjects and of full and perfect right entitled to the British laws and constitution, the supreme military command

[The] referring to an old Act made for the trial of treasons committed out of the realm, by such persons as had no legal refugency but within the realm, and who were of the realm: applying the purview of that statute which was made to bring subjects of the realm who had committed treasons out of the realm (where there was no criminal jurisdiction to which they could be amenable) to trial within the realm, under that criminal jurisdiction to which alone by their legal refugency and allegiance they were amenable; applying this to the case of subjects whose legal refugency is without the realm, and who are by that refugency and their allegiance amenable to a jurisdiction authorized and empowered to try and give judgment upon all capital offences whatsoever without appeal; thus applying this statute so as to take up a proceeding, for which there is no legal process either by common or statute law as now established, but in defiance of which there is a legal process established by the Habeas Corpus Act; — would be, to disfranchise the subject in America of those rights and liberties which by statute and common law he is now intitled to.

† 13th and 14th Car. II. c. 2.

within the precincts of such jurisdictions, must be inseparably annexed to the office of supreme civil magistrata, (his Majesty's Regent, Vice-regent, Lieutenant, or Locum Tenens, in what form soever established;) so that the King cannot by any † commission of regency, by any commission or charter of government, separate or withdraw the supreme command of the military from the office of supreme civil magistrata;—either by reserving this command in his own hands, to be exercised and executed independent of the civil power; or by granting a distinct commission to any military commander in chief, so to be exercised and executed; but more especially not within such jurisdictions where such supreme military power (so far as the constitution knows and will justify the same) is *already* annexed and granted to the office of supreme civil magistrata.—And hence it is that the King cannot erect or establish any law martial or military command, by any commission which may supersede and not be subject to the supreme civil magistrata, within the

† If the King was to absent himself for a time from the realm, and did as usual leave a regency in his place, (his locum tenens as supreme civil magistrata;) Could he authorize and commission any military commander in chief, to command the militia ferts and forces, *independent of such regency*? Could he do this in Ireland? Could he do this in the colonies and plantations, where the Governor is already, by commission or charter or both under the Great Seal, military commander in chief; as part of (and inseparably annexed to) the office of supreme civil magistrata, his Majesty's locum tenens within said jurisdictions? If he could; then while openly, by patent according to law, he appeared to establish a free British constitution, he might by a fallacy establish a military power and government.

respective

respective precincts of the civil jurisdictions of said colonies and plantations; otherwise than in such manner as the said law martial and military commissions are annexed or subject to the supreme civil jurisdiction within his Majesty's realms and dominions of Great Britain and Ireland; And hence it is that the establishment and exercise of such commands and commissions would be illegal.

Ans. The King has the command of all military force in his dominions: But in every distinct state of his dominions there should be the consent of the parliament or assembly, (the representative body) to the raising and keeping up such military force. — He cannot even raise troops and quarter them in another, without the consent of that other. He cannot of right, being troops raised in Ireland and quarter them in Britain, but with the consent of the parliament of Britain: Nor carry to Ireland and quarter there, soldiers raised in Britain, without the consent of the Irish parliament; unless in time of war and cases of extreme exigency. — In 1756 when the Speaker went up to present the money-bills, he said among other things, that 'England was capable of fighting her own battles and defending herself; And although ever attached to your Majesty's person, ever at ease under your just government; They cannot forbear taking notice of some circumstances in the present situation of affairs, which nothing but the confidence in your justice, could hinder from alarming their most serious apprehensions. Spies to foreign princes, when already burthened with a debt scarce to be borne, cannot but be sorely felt. An army of FOREIGN TROOPS, a thing unprecedented, upbraid the antient, renowned name of ENGLAND; cannot but alarm, &c. &c.' (See the Speech.) N. B. These FOREIGN TROOPS were part of the King's subjects, Hanoverians, and all in his service; which the same thing is in B. P.

[Governor F. accompanied this paper to Dr. F. with a sort of prophetic remark. After stating that their theorems, and their application to existing cases, were intended to remedy the prejudice in relation to taxation and even then prevailing either in opinions or conduct; he said: 'The very attention to the investigation may lead to the discovery of some truths respecting the whole British Empire, then little thought of and scarce even suspected; and which perhaps it would not be prudent at this time to make and going out.' — That sentence, however, looked like the *Apophthegm* of Solon's right over going faster, a better policy, than possession of opinion and silence: He turned civilian, and left an empire. E.]

[A: D. T.] *To be inserted after p. 232, or p. 302.*

London, Nov. 28, 1768.

Dear Sir *,

I Received your obliging favour of the 12th instant. Your sentiments of the importance of the present dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies, appear to me extremely just. There is nothing I wish for more than to see it amicably and equitably settled.—But Providence will bring about its own ends by its own means; and if it intends the downfall of a nation, that nation will be so blinded by its pride, and other passions, as not to see its danger, or how its fall may be prevented.

Being born and bred in one of the countries, and having lived long and made many agreeable connexions of friendship in the other, I wish all prosperity to both: but I have talked, and written so much and so long on the subject, that my acquaintance are weary of hearing, and the public of reading any more of it; which begins to make me weary of talking and writing: especially as I do not find that I have gained any point, in either country; except that of rendering myself suspected, by my impartiality; in England, of being

* [I cannot pretend to say what is the publication promised in this letter; unless probably it alludes to the one given above at p. 232, in which case there is a mistake in the date of the year. — When this work is translated or reprinted, this letter must either precede the piece in question, or follow the Examination before the House of Commons, at p. 302. E.]

ing

ing too much an American, and in America of being too much an Englishman. Your opinion however weighs with me, and encourages me to try one effort more, in a full, though concise state of facts, accompanied with arguments drawn from those facts; to be published about the meeting of parliament, after the holidays.

If any good may be done I shall rejoice; but at present I almost despair.

Have you ever seen the barometer so low as of late? The 22d instant mine was at 28, 41, and yet the weather fine and fair.

With sincere esteem, I am, Dear Friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

[A: D.T.]

[A: D. T.] *To come in after p. 356.*

Philadelphia, May 16, 1775.

Dear Friend *,

YOU will have heard before this reaches you, of a march stolen by the regulars into the country by night, and of their *expedition* back again. They retreated 20 miles in [6] hours.

The Governor had called the Assembly to oppose Lord North's pacific plan; but before the time of their meeting, began cutting of throats; — You know it was said he carried the sword in one hand, and the olive branch in the other; and it seems he chose to give them a taste of the sword first.

He is doubling his fortifications at Boston, and hopes to secure his troops till succour arrives. The place indeed is naturally so defensible, that I think them in no danger.

All America is exasperated by his conduct, and more firmly united than ever. The breach between the two countries is grown wider, and in danger of becoming irreparable.

I had a passage of six weeks; the weather constantly so moderate that a London wherry might

* [I run much risk in the publication of the three following letters; but I think they contain such valuable facts, and shew so well the nature of Dr. Franklin's temper, that I ought to encounter some difficulty rather than suffer them to be lost. E.]

have

[A:D.T.] *Arrived in America its situation.* 551

have accompanied us all the way. I got home in the evening, and the next morning was unanimously chosen by the Assembly a delegate to the Congress, now sitting.

In coming over I made a valuable philosophical discovery, which I shall communicate to you, when I can get a little time. At present am extremely hurried. * * *

Yours most affectionately,

B. F.

[A:D.T.]

[A. D. T.] To come in after p. 364. Hunt

Dear Friend I, Philadelphia, 7th July, 1775.

The Congress met at a time when all minds were so exasperated by the perfidy of General Gage, and his attack on the country people, that propositions of attempting an accommodation were not much relished; and it has been with difficulty that we have carried another humble petition to the crown, to give Britain one more chance, one opportunity more of recovering the friendship of the colonies; which however I think she has not sense enough to embrace, and so I conclude she has lost them for ever.

She has begun to burn our seaport towns; secure, I suppose, that we shall never be able to return the outrage in kind. She may doubtless destroy them all; but if she wishes to recover our commerce, are these the probable means? She must certainly be distracted; for no tradesman out of Bedlam ever thought of encreasing the number of his customers by knocking them [on] the head; or of enabling them to pay their debts by burning their houses.

If she wishes to have us subjects and that we should submit to her as our compound sovereign,

† [See the note to the foregoing letter. E.]

She

she is now giving us such miserable specimens of her government, that we shall ever detest and avoid it, as a complication of robbery, murder, famine, fire and pestilence.

You will have heard before this reaches you, of the treacherous conduct * * * to the remaining people in Boston, in detaining their *goods*, after stipulating to let them go out with their *effects*; on pretence that merchants goods were not effects;—the defeat of a great body of his troops by the country people at Lexington; some other small advantages gained in skirmishes with their troops; and the action at Bunker's-hill, in which they were twice repulsed, and the third time gained a dear victory. Enough has happened, one would think, to convince your ministers that the Americans will fight, and that this is a harder nut to crack than they imagined.

We have not yet applied to any foreign power for assistance; nor offered our commerce for their friendship. Perhaps we never may: Yet it is natural to think of it if we are pressed.

We have now an army on our establishment which still holds yours besieged.

My time was never more fully employed. In the morning at 6, I am at the committee of safety, appointed by the assembly to put the province in a state of defence; which committee holds till near 9, when I am at the congress, and that sits till after 4 in the afternoon. Both these bodies proceed with the greatest unanimity, and their meetings are well attended. It will

4 B scarce

scarce be credited in Britain that men can be as diligent with us from zeal for the public good, as with you for thousands per annum.—Such is the difference between uncorrupted new states, and corrupted old ones.

Great frugality and great industry are now become fashionable here: Gentlemen who used to entertain with two or three courses, pride themselves now in treating with simple beef and pudding. By these means, and the stoppage of our consumptive trade with Britain, we shall be better able to pay our voluntary taxes for the support of our troops. Our savings in the article of trade amount to near five million sterling per annum.

I shall communicate your letter to Mr. Winthrop, but the camp is at Cambridge, and he has as little leisure for philosophy as myself. * * * Believe me ever, with sincere esteem, my dear friend,

Yours most affectionately &c.

† [The two preceding letters are to the same person; the following one is to a different correspondent. R.]

[A: D. T.]

To come in after p. 366.

Philadelphica, Oct. 3, 1775 f.

I Wish as ardently as you can do for peace, and should rejoice exceedingly in co-operating with you to that end. But every ship from Britain brings some intelligence of new measures that tend more and more to exasperate; and it seems to me that until you have found by dear experience the reducing us by force impracticable, you will think of nothing fair and reasonable.— We have as yet resolved only on defensive measures. If you would recall your forces and stay at home, we should meditate nothing to injure you. A little time so given for cooling on both sides would have excellent effects. But you will goad and provoke us. You despise us too much; and you are insensible of the Italian adage, that *there is no little enemy*.—I am persuaded the body of the British people are our friends; but they are changeable, and by your lying Gazettes may soon be made our enemies. Our respect for them will proportionally diminish; and I see clearly we are on the high road to mutual enmity, hatred, and detestation. A separation will of course be inevitable.—'Tis a million of pities so fair a plan

f [See the note to p. 550. E.]

as we have hitherto been engaged in for increasing strength and empire with *public felicity*, should be destroyed by the mangling hands of a few blundering ministers. It will not be destroyed: God will protect and prosper it: You will only exclude yourselves from any share in it.—We hear that more ships and troops are coming out. We know you may do us a great deal of mischief, but we are determined to bear it patiently as long as we can; but if you flatter yourselves with beating us into submission, you know neither the people nor the country.

The congress is still sitting, and will wait the result of their *last* petition.



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ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA.

N.B. The following list of addenda, &c. may appear considerable: The asterisks on the side however (about *sixteen* in number) mark all that are important for the reader's attention: The rest are chiefly inserted for the benefit of the printer, in future editions. Had the copies of the author's pieces which the editor possessed, always been correct, fewer difficulties of this kind would probably have occurred: And the notes also might have been much abridged and perfected, had the progress of the press allowed a sufficient time.

For a small alteration to be made in the *Arrangement of the pieces* in this Collection, see the Table of Contents and its Note, and also the notes of the Appendix.

- Page*
3. a space to be put after § 7; — so also after § 12 in p. 3; — after § 14 in p. 7; — after § 18 in p. 8; — and after § 20 & § 21, in p. 9.
4. line 18. read "*there* that there is;" for "*where* that *there* is."
7. line 18. delete *the* before *Fathers*.
13. a space to be put after l. 5; — p. 17. a paragraph and space at the words "Thus manners," line 17; — p. 20. a space at line 20; — and p. 22. spaces at lines 14 & 28.
49. l. 21. after "individual," add, "and necessary to furnish his subsistence."
51. line 23. read "become."
57. line 17 of the notes; read "much *abuse* in."
59. line 8 from the bottom; read "keep."
67. line 2. read "Gentilitation."



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72. The copy of the Chapter against persecution is in several respects imperfect. In particular the division of verses is not observed, and the following part omitted, beginning from the 12th verse.

" (12.) And Abraham said, let not the anger of my Lord wax hot against his servant: lo, I have sinned, forgive me I pray thee. (13.) And Abraham arose, and went forth into the wilderness, and diligently sought for the man and found him; and returned with him to the tent; and when he had entreated him kindly, he sent him away on the morrow with gifts. (14.) And God spake again unto Abraham saying, for this thy sin shall thy seed be afflicted four hundred years in a strange land; (15.) But for thy repentance will I deliver them, and they shall come forth with power, and with gladness of heart, and with much substance."

74. line 10; read "*that* people."

76. line 13; read "let."

98. line 14; for "*the nearer*," read "*near*;" and line 15, read "*colonies and where*."

121. line 13 from the bottom of the note; read "*may have contributed*;" and line 6 from the bottom, read "*in the disturbances*."

129. &c. in the running title, read "Letter."

131. line 10 from the bottom, read "*in the parliament*;" and line 6 from the bottom, read "*sear around its coasts*."

139. line 10. dele "and much."

141. line 15. read "*Hockeckin*;" and line 4 from the bottom, read "*Mohingahela*."

142. line 7. after "*sett*" add, "*and supply it with provisions*."

174. line 5. for "*with*" read "*within*."

205. at the bottom, add this note. [Dr. Franklin has often been heard to say, that in writing this pamphlet, he received considerable assistance from a learned friend who was not willing to be named. E.]

221. Insert the following note. [I understand that Dr. Franklin is the friend who assisted Governor Pownall in drawing up a plan for a general paper-currency for America, to be established by the British government. See Gov. Pownall's Administration of the Colonies, 5th edit. p. 199 & 208, &c. E.]

227. In the note; omit all of the last six lines between the word "*times*," and the word "*Bat*;" and in page 228, line 5, for "*(Dr. Franklin)*" read "*(George Croghan)*."

236. line 8. dele "it had been said."

240. line 7. from bottom, read simply "*and beaver*;" line 3 from bottom, read "*King*;" and line 28 from bottom, dele "*wild*."

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243. line 13. read "istend;" and line 3 from the bottom, for "signify" read "satisfy."
255. line 7 of the note, read "exempted."
287. line 19. read "effected."
313. line 12. read "stead; the power," and line 21 put a comma only after "here."
316. line 7. read "subject."
323. at the bottom, dele "These posts have since gone together."
325. line 18. read "this disposition;" and line 19. read "was so prevalent."
326. line 3. read simply "that minister;" line 20. read "to starve it;" and line 4 from the bottom read "fifteen hundred."
329. In the title here and in the subsequent pages, dele "and Examination."
344. line 14. read "settlers or their."
351. line 11 from the bottom, read "thus."
355. dele the lowest note with its reference, and line 11 read "enow under."
357. in the title of this and the subsequent pages say "Proposed Vindication."
368. line 8 from the bottom, read "bad 500 l."
372. line 18. read "not to be;" and line 22. read "porcelaine vase."
374. line 6 from the bottom, read simply "flood a."
376. line 9 from the bottom, dele "his;" and line 7 from bottom, read "individual, ought."
377. line 18. read "man there is;" line 25. read "mismanagement;" and line 26. read "business, and."
387. l. 10 of the note, read "where the fundamentals of the government are."
427. line 2. read "charter; to."
429. line 10. read "knew."
444. line 8 from bottom, read "country."
452. line 1. read "but their wisdoms;" and line 21. between to mark the omission of a long satirical epistle for the Pro-prietors, composed out of addresses or messages to them printed in the votes; and page 464. dele what follows the word "omitted" in the note.
459. line 1. read "even been."

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#468. on the side of the upper division, put "to" in roman, "huh" in italic, and dele "y"; and on the side of the fifth division dele the roman "th" and "dh."—Also make the table face p. 468. and not p. 470, and in the 4th column of the table opposite *a* read "little more, or"; and in the note at the bottom, for "sounds" read "characters."—Also p. 469. l. 2. after "soft." insert as follows, "K also supplies well the place of *x*; and, with an *s* added, the place of *x*: *q* and *x* are therefore omitted. The vowel *u* being sounded as *oo*, makes the *w* unnecessary. The *y* where used simply, is supplied by *i*; and where as a diphthong, is supplied by two vowels: That letter is therefore omitted as useless."—Also p. 470. l. 6. read "unto;" and line 7 from the bottom, read "different position." and line

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line 4 from the bottom, dele "both in inhaling and expelling it."—Also p. 471. l. 5. read *furius*.—Also p. 472. l. 6. read "fiks'd;"—Also p. 475. l. 2. and p. 477. lines 9 and 15. read "*lamedfi*."

477. dele the note.

479. after the title insert "Philadelphia, 1748;" and in the next line say "to Mr. *Hopkinson*," and insert "Hopkinson" for "Baxter" in the title of the subsequent pages, and in the 2d line of the note read " &c. by Mr. *Baxter*."

486. In lieu of the present note, place the following, viz. "Philadelphia market, in which Dr. F. lived."

507. line 13. read "force;" and add the following note below.

510. line 11. read "fundamentals of the cause."

511. in the *two* last notes at the bottom, read "torrid zone" for "tropics."

512. line 8. read "France";—l. 6. dele the figure 5° . and insert the whole sentence, "How slowly fixation operates here, &c." as a note to the word *Newfoundland*;—Let the sentence, at l. 12, beginning with the words "The same conclusion," follow the word *Newfoundland*, line 6, and make part of § 4;—and for § 5. insert the following sentence, with its attendant note. " 5° . The air loses heat slowly \dagger ; or in other words is a bad conductor of heat."—Line 13. of the same page, read "at least at twenty eight degrees and a half" for "at 28° ;"—and line 28, read "near the pole."

515. line 14 and 15. for "whatever rarity the air has at a certain height," &c. read "if the air be found to increase in rarity a given number of times at a specific height from the surface, at twice that height the rarity will be as the square of that number, at thrice that height as the cube of it; and so on." The "height, &c."

517. for the bottom line, and p. 518 for the top line; substitute as follows.—"appear most when the beginning of moisture

^a [What is here said of the effect of the centrifugal force on the air, the author knows, has since confirmed as a mistake. E.]

^b See Mr. Adair Crawford's most excellent book on *Animal heat*, p. 15.

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" succeeds the maximum of cold, or the beginning of
 " cold succeeds the maximum of moisture; but if it be
 " true, according to Muschenbroek, that they prevail most
 " when, &c."—line 3. of the same p. 518. dele " hence."

524. line 31. at the word "regions†" consider the following note.
 524—6. for

† (I find from a paper by Capt. Douglas (see the Phil. Transf. for 1770.) that the sea at *some depths* in certain cold latitudes, is not only warmer than at the surface in *spring* time, but also in several trials was of equal warmth with it upon an average late in *summer*. Now I cannot suspect from the very small depths to which (according to divers, &c.) the agitation of storms is found to reach, that deep warm strata of water are brought by *storms* into these climates: Nor can I attribute the fact simply to *rises*, since tides according to Dr. Franklin are waves, and waves are produced chiefly out of the waters on the spot, by an altered position of their parts: Nor do I think we can explain much by calling in the aid of *currents*, for whence are those currents?—I incline therefore to conceive some such cause as the following. If the globe were now for the first time made to whirl round its axis, the earthy parts of it would easily comply with the motion; but the watery parts being of a looser texture would be later in doing this and hence probably for a time make an overwhelming current to the westward. Thus, if a basin with water be moved in the



direction W E; the water being left behind at E, the parts there will become dry; and the water again being *reverted* at W and not having consistency enough to admit a sufficient protrusion, the first division near W will have its parts squeezed under between and above, those of the next division; so as to raise that division; but without such bounds as gravity, compared with the force of the motion, shall prescribe; in the same gravity rendering the surface of the whole smooth, in some such line as *we*. The *tropical* waters having to keep pace with a more rapid projection of land however than the rest, would be later in acquiring their requisite motion, and continue longer swelling up against the western shores, and from thence run north and south round again to the eastern shores; having in their ascent to the higher latitudes a motion relatively quick; and in their descent back again another relatively slow; and by such motions laying a foundation for producing another swirl with circuitous currents after the manner of the former.—I leave it to others to say how such a notion, if just, might explain the deposit of shells in different inland parts where the water first became quietest, &c. &c. but it seems to me difficult, without some such hypothesis, to determine the cause of the fact in question. It seems difficult also to say, why (apparently exclusive of winds, which yet according to Dr. F. obey alike influence) our *western* voyages are best made in *low* latitudes, and our *eastward* voyages best made in higher ones. It seems farther difficult, without it, to say why the waters are accumulated as we see them in the *Bay of Mexico*, to the height (if we are to judge by the rate and extent of their descent thence) of some hundred feet (as perhaps may be proved by a comparison of them with the notes above across the Mexican Isthmus) at *Orizaba* which, (in contradiction to the notes above p. 524. to Poyssonet, and perhaps to a still greater authority) I think is hardly to be attributed to the power of the *trade-winds*; because the whole atmospheric weight,

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524-6. for the running title say, "The earth kept *itself* only
"by the sun."

526. line 9. read "at the same *degree* of heat."

527. line 16. at the words "long subsided," insert the note below.*—line 26. put a dash after "history."—line 27. put the word "*ferest*," into italics;—and line 30, read "overlooked."

*528. line 13 from the bottom, dele "(at least in certain stages)."

*529. line 26. Insert the note below †.

N. B.

is only equal to 33 feet of water; and a wind-wave upon flat waters scarce ever reaches 25 feet above the general level without gravity bringing it down again, and no unusual continuance of winds upon any shorein fact ever raises a water swell of 33 feet independent of earthquakes and tides. Perhaps also an hypothesis of this kind may gain further credit, from the currents observed among the West India islands; where the water may be supposed running backwards or forwards from the Mexican heap, according as the supply is more or less thickened behind or the discharge more or less accelerated before, by storm tides, &c. &c. So perhaps the current into the Mediterranean by Gibraltar with some of the currents in other straits and seas (allowing for the position here, &c. of the water, and supposing a current below to balance a current above,) as also various risings of seas, &c. may have their share in explaining and being explained by such a conjecture. E.]

* [This assertion may be thought carried too far; seeing the great effects produced during different seasons upon the earth's surface, as to heat and cold. And perhaps the ease with which the earth appears disposed to relapse into coolness and frost were the sun wholly to retire; may lead some to suspect, that the sun's presence only occasions a manifestation of heat by some decomposition of it from certain substances, and that during the sun's absence this heat after a time tends again to be absorbed. Such supposition, if true, would help to explain several facts and difficulties in these inquiries: Room therefore is left for it, along with other like suppositions. E.]

† [The following incidents are too curious to be omitted.—Smoke from Cotopaxi is seen between five and six miles above the sea; and Vesuvius is said on the night of August 8, 1779, to have thrown out a complex sheet of fire in a column, at least three times taller than the mountain itself, or near three miles above the sea; which operation continued in full force for 25 minutes (then ceasing abruptly); and from those clouds the *brighest* *ferest* *lightning* constantly issued; the *rest* of the *night* being free from clouds, and before the eruption, it having been a clear star-light night. Q. Does the projected smoke (compelled in part perhaps of moist or mineral particles) spread, cool, and condense; and while condensing create the same overflow of electricity that Dr. Franklin conceives to be created by *condensing vapor*; afterwards discharging its surplus of electricity into the earth, moist air, or heated lava that is passing up and down on all sides: And may not this same smoke, when in a drier, cooler, and lower atmosphere towards the poles, make its discharge into the vacuum above; thus forming a separate origin for the auroras?—If an *isolated* volcano be still thought necessary to the auroras, and *such* volcano be supposed incapable of furnishing the additional electricity required upon the change of solid matter into voluminous smoke; may not this additional electricity be acquired from moist *ferest* air, during the first stages of the smoke's ascending? And may not smoke and vapor thus often *respectively* promote the auroras; the *vapor* of itself at times

not

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N. B. In the running titles of the right hand pages, from page 513 to p. 529, insert [M. P.]

not ascending high enough to reach the river air, and the *source* of itself not possessing all the necessary electricity, all aided by southerly winds; aurores therefore that depend on *frisks* from *infernal* volcanoes, never appearing without the appearance of humid air.—Mr. Brydson however I find was told of red or blood lightning striking from the eruptions of *Etana*, as well as of *Vesuvius*; but without any strike heard like thunder, except when clouds rushed near; and also that the whole track of smoke (sometimes 100 miles in extent) produced great mischief by its electrical discharges, when the air was *dry* and little agitated; But that at other times the electricity defended with torrens of rain. He himself only found the air of *Etana* electrical, in a situation where there was hardly any thing but lava and dry hot sand near; And its smoke, when he saw it, always defended to certain regions of the atmosphere. If there are any aurores then produced by mere electrified smoke, may not southerly winds contribute to the eruption by pouring snow or water into the volcano; may not the eruption by rendering the air lighter in consequence of rain-faction, phlogistication, &c. or the cold high land is in *enveloped* by sucking the vaporous air which greatly in consequence of precipitating its vapor (as it does in certain clayey situations and still more upon the Andes) *contributes* to the wind.—Finally, if the insulated fender be negative with respect to electricity, is there any contradiction in supposing that it may occasionally receive its complement from the upper regions; the electricity in its circuitous passage thither for the purpose forming a new species of aurore.—See the plate from Bouguer; the London Gazette for Sept. 4. 1779; and Brydson's Tour through Sicily and Malta, Vol. I. p. 213. and 227-8; With the confirmation given by Sir Wm. Hamilton in the Phil. Trans. for 1768, p. 27, and 1770, p. 28. and Ulloa, Vol. I. p. 231. E.]

N. B. The collection in this Volume includes all the *Political* Pieces by Dr. Franklin which have by any means come into the Editor's possession, and such of his *Miscellaneous* and *Philosophical* pieces as are not elsewhere extant in print.



F I N I S.

